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RELATING TO

## LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

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VOLUME XIX.

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1889.

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# Memorials

OF THE

# CIVIL WAR

## In Cheshire

AND THE ADJACENT COUNTIES

BY

THOMAS MALBON,

of Nantwich, Gent.,

AND

## Providence Improved

BY

EDWARD BURGHALL,

Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich.

---

EDITED

BY

JAMES HALL,

Author of "A History of Nantwich."

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# Introduction.

"An exact Diary is a window into his heart that maketh it; and, therefore, pity it is that any should look therein but either the friends of the party, or such ingenuous foes as will not, especially in things doubtful, make conjectural comments to his disgrace."—PRYNNE'S *Remarks on Archbishop Laud.*

LTHOUGH the subject matter of this volume differs from the other "original records" which the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire have already printed, yet the Council of the Society have deemed it advisable to include these Memorials amongst their publications on account of their special local interest, as containing incidents highly illustrative of the history of the Civil War in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, and as adding to our knowledge of the general history of the reign of Charles I. and the Commonwealth period.

Apart from the value of these memorials in regard to the record of occurrences during the eventful years to which they relate, Thomas Malbon's narrative of the War (1642-1648) which centres in, although it is not confined to, the proceedings at and around Nantwich, the place of Parliamentary strength in Cheshire throughout the contest, is clearly the work of a local patriot; and the writer may be regarded as the exponent of local feeling in South Cheshire, where Puritan politics had a strong hold on the people; while the personal reminiscences of Edward Burghall (1628-1642 and 1648-1663), which

afford glimpses into the life and thought of Cheshire people in the 17th century, prove him to have been a stern Puritan moralist, who tenaciously clung to his religious opinions when Presbyterianism, having ceased to be a power in the country, was followed by the restoration of episcopacy after the coronation of Charles II.

Malbon's MS. has hitherto escaped publication; indeed, its existence was made known to the present generation only a few years ago in one of the early Reports issued by the Historical MSS. Commission; but Burghall's "Diary," as it has been called—although it is in no sense a diurnal record—was printed, with many errors of omission and commission, as far back as the year 1778, by Mr. Poole, in his collections for a *History of Cheshire*, vol. ii., pages 893-948, and that version has been frequently quoted by writers to the present time.* This volume will, therefore, be of permanent utility, now that both memorials are printed side by side in their entirety.

In editing these memorials it devolves on me to give in this prefatory essay brief biographies of Edward Burghall and Thomas Malbon; to offer some explanatory remarks on their writings; and to point out in outline the principal military movements of the Civil War in the locality to which these memorials relate.

It was scarcely possible to print such a book as this without notes, but it has been a matter of no small difficulty how to carry out this self-imposed task so as to annotate the text sufficiently, and at the same time to compress all into one small volume. Besides the footnotes, for which I am responsible, I have printed the Rev. William Cole's comments on Burghall's *Providence Im-*

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* Dr. Ormerod reprinted Poole's version, as far as it related to the Civil War, in his *History of Cheshire*, 1819, vol. iii., pp. 223-8, reproduced in the second edition of that work, 1882, vol. iii., pp. 420-5. Mr. T. Worthington Barlow also reprinted Poole's version in an abridged form in his *Cheshire Biographies*, 1852, pp. 150-189.

*proved*—savage and unsparing criticisms, all blister and no balm—which, written, as they were more than a hundred years ago, will not now be read seriously; but which, nevertheless, I did not think advisable to omit.*

I have also added a chronological table of contents, together with two Indexes, one of personal, the other of place names; and at the end of the volume some original documents, parish register extracts, &c., in an Appendix.

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# EDWARD BURGHALL.

BURGHALL as a family name had been connected with the parish of Bunbury, in Cheshire, long before the seventeenth century. William Burghall, born in 1496, a chantry priest there in the time of Henry VIII., still survived on his pension in 1556; (*a*) and Abraham Burghall, most likely a relative of the old pensioner, was buried there in 1590.

The father of the author of *Providence Improved* was *Hugh Burghall*, of Beeston, who died in 1632, his will being proved at Chester Feb. 1st, 1632. By his wife *Margaret*,

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* The Rev. William Cole, M.A., of Clare Hall and King's Coll. Camb., and F.S.A., died on Dec. 16, 1782, aged 68 years, and was buried within the tower of St. Clement's, Cambridge. He held in succession the livings of Hornsey (Middlesex) 1749-1751, Bletchley 1753-1767, and Burnham (Bucks) 1774-1782; but he seldom resided in those parishes. From the year 1770 until his death Cole lived at Milton, near Cambridge. According to his own statement parish duties were always distasteful to him; and from his contempt of the English reformers and his predilection for the Romish Church he was nicknamed 'Cardinal Cole.' These singularities in Cole will, therefore, account for his bitter remarks on Burghall and the Puritans of the seventeenth century.—See article on Cole in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xi. pp. 278-281.

(*a*). Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. ii., p. 258, 2nd edit.

whose will was proved June 7th, 1676, he had a family of five sons, EDWARD, Robert, Philip, Jeffrey, and Thomas; and a daughter, Jane Burghall. Thomas Burghall died in 1647, and by his will, proved Dec. 9th, 1647, he appointed his brothers Edward and Robert his executors. At his death his children by his wife Elizabeth were of tender years; but their descendants for several generations have lived at Beeston, Peckforton, and Spurstow down to quite recent times. George Burghall, of Spurstow, the fourth of that name in direct descent from Thomas Burghall, died at Tattenhall in 1846 and left issue; while other members of this branch of the family have lived, and are still living, in Chester and London. (*b*)

EDWARD BURGHALL, the son of Hugh and Margaret Burghall, of Beeston, was born in 1600, and baptized at Bunbury on Dec. 26th in that year. A few years before his birth, namely, in 36th Elizabeth (1593-4), a school had been founded at Bunbury and endowed by Thomas Aldersey, citizen and haberdasher of London, who had purchased from the Crown the rectory of Bunbury.

In that school Edward Burghall received his education under Mr. William Cole, and there he spent the greater part of his life, first as usher (*c*), and, after the death of Mr. Cole on May 12th, 1632, as head-master. Under the ministry of the celebrated preacher and theologian, *William Hinde* (1602-1629), and the eminent Cambridge scholar and preacher *Samuel Torshell* (1629-1642), Burghall must have imbibed Puritan theology. Just before the outbreak of the war there was great religious bitterness in

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(*b*) For the statements in this paragraph relating to the Burghall family, which, unfortunately, I have not had an opportunity of verifying, I am indebted to a MS. pedigree compiled by Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., of Chester.

(*c*) Edward Burghall occurs as usher in the school at Bunbury in 1622. See *Record Soc. Lanc. and Chesh.*, vol. xii., p. 62.

Cheshire as elsewhere; and the liberty and lives of those who held with the Parliament were threatened. (*d*)

Samuel Torshell, after the violation of the Bunbury Treaty (Dec. 23rd, 1642), had his house plundered, and was obliged to escape to London for safety. The Puritanism of Edward Burghall, however, does not appear to have been of so pronounced a type; perhaps, like many others, he did not choose to be singular for conscience sake; and so he continued to conduct the school at Bunbury throughout a great part of the Civil War.

Presbyterianism, however, became increasingly popular as the tide of affairs turned in favour of the Parliament, and many adopted the manner of speaking in Scripture phraseology, and put on the garb of the Puritan, in order to get position and praise of men in power. Burghall now sought preferment. He says:—

> "Coll: Marrow was a great Plunderer, took all my Goods off mee, & drove me from my House: & having a Call to preach at Haslington, May 1 1644, I went & tarried there 2 Years, having 34l [£34] paid." (*e*)

After the first civil war was over, Edward Burghall, in 1646, succeeded Edward Bold (*f*) as Vicar of Acton.

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(*d*) In *Nonconformity in Cheshire*, Introduction, p. xx., it is stated that Edward Burghall, of Acton, was imprisoned; but no mention of his imprisonment occurs in his own writings; and the statement is open to suspicion, since Burghall was not connected with Acton at that time.

(*e*) As schoolmaster of Bunbury he had had a stipend of £20 per annum. The value of benefices in the time of Chas. I., according to the register of the Archbishop of Canterbury for 1634, was as follows:—

4,543 livings valued at under £10
8,659 ,, ,, £40
144 ,, ,, £40 and upwards.

—(*Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser.* 1634-5, p. 381.)

(*f*) Edward Bold is not mentioned in the list of Vicars of Acton in the second edition of Ormerod's *Cheshire*, but he had been Vicar there six years.—*Acton Par. Reg.*

Here, in 1648, he signed the *Attestation of Cheshire Ministers* in favour of Presbyterianism; and, as will be seen in the latter part of his memorial, manifested the intolerant spirit of Cromwellian times against all who differed from him on doctrinal points. As Vicar, Burghall was in receipt of an ample income; for by order of the *Committee for Plundered Ministers* the stipend had been increased in 1646 by diverting £50 from the tithes of Wrenbury; and in 1654 Burghall successfully petitioned the Committee, who granted a further augmentation of £30 per annum. (*g*) He held the living about 16 years, until he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. At Acton he found dissentient parishioners, who disturbed the congregation; and on his leaving the parish he complained bitterly of his loss of tithes. In the year of his ejectment he saw the establishment of the Free School (afterwards the Grammar School) at Acton, which was founded by a voluntary subscription of the principal inhabitants of the parish, on May 26th, 1662. It has been said that the school was founded as a maintenance for the Vicar, but the statement is inaccurate.

The first schoolmaster was Mr. James Clewlowe (*h*); and although Edward Burghall was one of the original feoffees, he would resign all connection with the school after Oct. 3, 1662, when the order came from the Archbishop of York suspending him from the vicarage. The Vicar's name does not appear in the list of contributors to the School; but it is said that he printed the sermon that he delivered at its dedication.

He was the author of "*The perfect way to die in peace.*" (*i*)

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(*g*) *Nonconformity in Cheshire*, pp. xxviii. and 473.

(*h*) Acton *Parish Register.*

(*i*) A copy of this printed sermon, 12mo, 1659, was sold by Sotheby in Nov., 1868, at the sale of the books of Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., of London. The sermon is also mentioned in the Rev. Matthew Henry's *Life of Lieut. Illidge*, 1710, p. 10.

Calamy (*j*) sums up his character as follows: "He was a devout man, a laborious, faithful preacher, and generally well spoken of. He not only bore the mean condition to which he was reduced after his ejectment with great patience, but justified his nonconformity in a very solemn manner on his death-bed." By his wife Jane, or Joan (her maiden name has not occurred, nor the register of her marriage), Edward Burghall had two daughters, Elizabeth, born 1625, and Hannah, born 1631; and two sons, Edward, baptized Jan. 3rd, 1628, and Philip.

Having lived 44 years in the parish of Bunbury, two years as minister at Haslington, and nearly sixteen years as Vicar of Acton, Edward Burghall spent the remaining three years of his life in retirement at Alpraham in his native parish, where he died on Dec. 8th, 1665. By his will, proved at Chester, Sept. 27th, 1666, he appointed his wife and his son Edward his executors. A few years ago his gravestone, which had long been buried, was discovered on the east side of Bunbury Churchyard. As the inscription is now being destroyed by exposure, I give it here exactly as it appears on the flat stone.

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF
M$^{r}$ EDWARD BVRGHALL WHO
WAS A PAINEFVLL SCHOOLE M$^{r}$
IN THIS TOWNE 22 YEARES
AND A GODLIE MINISTER OF
CHRISTS GOSPEL AT ACTON
15 YEARES. HEE DIED IN ALPRAM
DECEM. 8 ANNO DN̄I. 1665
ET ÆTATIS SVÆ 65.
IOAN HIS WIFE DIED
OCTO. 21 AN̄O DN̄I.
1668.

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(*j*) Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorials*, p. 128, and continuation, p. 171.

# THOMAS MALBON.

THOMAS MALBON belonged to an ancient yeoman family which had been resident in the neighbourhood of Nantwich as far back as the fourteenth century. In my History of Nantwich (pp. 483-6) will be found an account of the family from *Thomas Malbon*, who, in 3 Hen. IV. [1401], occurs as a Commissioner for the collection of a subsidy in Nantwich Hundred, down to *Thomas Malbon*, the author of this contemporary account of the Civil War, and his two sons, who distinguished themselves at the taking of Cholmondeley Castle, on July 7th, 1644, and who, after the King's death, held commissions in Colonel Croxton's Nantwich Regiment of 700 men raised to oppose Charles II. in 1650, namely, *Major George Malbon*, and *Captain Thomas Malbon*.

THOMAS MALBON was the son and heir of *George Malbon* of Haslington, in the parish of Barthomley, co. Chester, by his wife Matilda, daughter of William Leversage. He was born on March 14th, 1577-8; and was under age when his father died (Nov. 11th, 1592), and when his father's Inquisition *post mortem* was taken at Wich Malbank [Nantwich] on May 9th, 1593.

Having obtained livery of his father's lands and homestead at Bradeley by writ dated Aug. 20th, 1599, he, in 1616, according to a tablet with armorial carvings that once

adorned old Bradeley Hall, rebuilt the home of his ancestors.

For many years, however, he was closely connected with Nantwich, where he followed the profession of the law, and where he doubtless had a town-house. There, too, he married (Feb. 14th, 1597-8) his first wife, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard Clutton, lawyer, of Nantwich. For many years he was steward to Sir Ranulph Crewe, of Crewe, Kt., and presided over his Manor Court. (*a*) In 1626 and 1627 he fulfilled the office of Churchwarden at Nantwich; and during those years he kept the Parish Registers. Just before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, he signed the "*Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester*," which was the declaration of those who favoured the side of the Parliament in the coming struggle. As the war proceeded, and the Parliament gradually gained the ascendancy, he was appointed one of the *Committee of Sequestrators* in Nantwich—a local "Committee of Public Safety"—for the purpose of fining or imprisoning all who still retained Royalist opinions, or who refused to subscribe to the "Covenant" for Presbyterian uniformity; as well as for seizing the estates of wealthy "Delinquents," and accounting for rents, sales of goods, and all moneys to the Council of War. (*b*) In this official position Thomas

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(*a*) I have an original document in my possession, in the handwriting of Thomas Malbon, proving him to have been the Steward of the Crewe Manor Court as late as the year 1640.

(*b*) Other prominent members of the Nantwich Committee of Sequestrators were George Edgeley and Robert Wilkes. Amongst the Wilbraham MSS. preserved at Delamere, &c. Chester, are two original communications written by Thomas Malbon, and signed by these three sequestrators. One of these documents, dated Sept. 13, 1643, orders Mrs. Elizabeth Minshull, widow of Richard Minshull, Gent. of Nantwich, "*to send in hir Rente p^r^sentlie to paye Souldye^rs w^th^ or els the Souldye^rs will come for ytt theirselves.*" The other document, dated and signed May 15, 1644, is a receipt for other rents belonging to the same lady, but then under sequestration, for the use of Major Marbury's Company.

Malbon must have been intimately acquainted with the proceedings of the war around the garrison town of Nantwich ; and it is not unlikely that through his influence Edward Burghall, in 1644, obtained preferment at Haslington. Thomas Malbon's duties as sequestrator ceased when Nantwich was dis-garrisoned Jan., 1646-7 ; and as he was then in his 69th year, he probably retired to Bradeley Hall. In 1651 he wrote his very interesting Account of the Civil War, and, dying in 1658, was buried (*c*) in the parish church at Barthomley, where a mural marble placed to his memory is still to be seen in the south aisle of the church, inscribed as follows :—

VNDERNEATH LYETH BVRYED THE BODIE OF THOMAS MALLBON OF BRADLEY GENT: ONE OF YE ATTORNIYES BEFORE THE IVDGES OF CHEST$^{R}$
WHO DEPARTED THIS LYFE THE 2 [1$^{st}$]
DAY OF IVNE 1658.

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(*c*) The gravestone which once covered the Malbon vault in Barthomley Church is at the present time in the graveyard on the north side of the Church. It bears the simple inscription,—"*Thomas Malbon, of Bradley, Gent., Died June* 21, 1658,"—and a coat of arms, a shield charged with *two bends compony;* and for crest, an oak stump *couped,* with branches, leaves, and acorns, engraved on brass by "*George Wodnothe.*" Near this stone are three others with oval brasses to the Malbons. (See inscriptions in Hinchliffe's *Barthomley,* p. 34-5.) All have been taken out of the church to form the footpath !

# BURGHALL'S

# PROVIDENCE IMPROVED.

AT the present time it is not known whether the original MS. entitled "*Providence Improved*" is in existence or not. The version here printed is from the Rev. William Cole's MS. copy now preserved in the British Museum. (Cole MS., vol. 50.)

Dr. Ormerod in the year 1822, or about three years after the issue of his celebrated "*History of Cheshire*," transcribed the Cole MS. at the British Museum; and that transcript, which is now in the possession of Mr. J. P. Earwaker, has the following remark by the Cheshire historian—"I have no doubt of Cole's copy being directly transcribed from Allen's, and Allen's being either Burghall's autograph, or an accurate transcript from it."

The Rev. William Cole, the well-known historical collector and antiquary of last century, tells us that he made his copy at Milton, near Cambridge; commencing it on Feb. 26th, and finishing it on March 11th, in the year 1778; in which year, as has already been stated, "Providence Improved" was first printed by Mr. Poole, of Chester.

It may be presumed that the MS. which Cole transcribed was in Burghall's own hand; for had it been otherwise, it seems reasonable to suppose that Cole would have said so. What he has said in the preface to his transcript is as follows:—

"In the Autumn of the Year 1777, some 3 or 4 months before

the Death of my ever esteemed and lamented Friend Mr. John Allen, (*a*) Senior Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, and Rector of Tarporley near Acton and Namptwich in Cheshire, he sent me the following MS. Journal or Diary of unfortunate Providences, together with another MS. or two, by a young man of Queen's College, Mr. Hamond, now A.B., and who will be elected Fellow of that College on June 30, as the present Vice-Chancellor and Master of the College told me at Milton about a fortnight ago; (I write this Febr: 26. 1778.) Mr. Hamond is a very deserving young Man, a Native of Lancashire, near Stockport, and recomended by Mr. Tho: Bentham, to the Alderman at Cambridge, his Brother, where I became acquainted with him; as his County was full, he had a Dispensation from the King to be elected: and as he was going into Cheshire last Summer, I desired him to call upon Mr. Allen before he returned to College.

Mr. Burghall seems to be a most bigotted Presbyterian, and full of the Prejudices of those Kind of People: and I am sorry to observe, that the Race is not extinct. In the first Page of his MS., his Religion made him justify the cruel and infamous Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham by that Villain Felton, who treacherously stabbed him at Portsmouth. *Tantum Religio potuit.* On this Occasion, I will transcribe here, what I have written in one of the blank Leaves of the MS.

> "Sir David Dalrymple, in his Annals of Scotland,
> "printed at Edinburgh 1776, under the Year 1216,
> "gives an Account of an Army of savage Scots, who
> "ravaged and burnt the Monastery of Holme-Culbram
> "in Cumberland, but in their Retreat, near 2000 of
> "them perished in a River, which, at that Time, was
> "looked upon as a Judgement for their Sacrilege.
> "Upon which, Sir David, very quaintly, makes this
> "Reflection. 'In those Days the Clergy monopolized
> "'Divine Justice.' He need not have gone so many

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(*a*) Mr. Cole had, as far back as July, 1755, visited, at the rectory of Tarporley, his intimate friend, the Rev. John Allen; whom Pennant calls "honest rector John Allen, whose antiquarian knowledge and hospitality I have often experienced."—(*Tour from Chester to London*, 1782, p. 9.)

"Centuries back to find out such Monopolizers: his "own Country was full of them not a Century before he "was born: and perhaps some of the Breed may be "found there to this Day: nay, the same Sort of Clergy "in our own Kingdom were by no means behind Hand "with them. A greater Instance perhaps of this Asser- "tion cannot be produced than this PROVIDENCE "IMPROVED by *Master Burghall;* who, on the most "trifling and slightest Occasion, could find out a Judg- "ment, which, in Fact, was nothing more than a cõmon "Accident. . . . . [&c.] "Wm. Cole 1777."

The MS. contains 42 Octavo Pages, extremely close written, & bound up with 3 or 4 other Pamphlets, and in the Binding the upper Line of the MS. is sometimes damaged. Mr. Burghall seems to have been of a most uncharitable & unchristian Temper, tho' he might not know it himself, & whose whole Time was taken up in watching his Neighbours Failings and interpreting them into Judgments.

The principal Part is a curious, tho' partial Account of the Rebellion in Cheshire & Parts adjacent: when he enters as an Historian, he lays aside his Providences, till the King's return: then nothing but unlucky Providences again, till he was silenced."

So wrote Cole; and his description of what appears to have been Burghall's own MS. is sufficiently clear to identify the volume if it should ever be forthcoming. That it was in Burghall's own handwriting seems almost certain, too, from the fact that the Rev. John Allen added a marginal note respecting the Bunbury preacher, William Hinde, on the first page of the MS., which Cole copied and which Poole printed; although the latter, by mistake, made the note apply to Burghall instead of Hinde. (*b*)

On page 926 of Poole's edition of "*Providence Improved*," immediately after the account of the massacre at Barthomley, occurs the following parenthesis, which was

(*b*) Cf. note on page 1 of this volume with Poole's edition 1778, page 893.

either another marginal note by Allen, or information supplied by the Tarporley Rector, J. A., to Poole.

"(N.B. This was one of the articles entered against King Charles; had he pleaded when brought to judgment at Whitehall. J.A.)."

In my opinion, this parenthesis (which is of no historical value and is not to be found in the Cole MS.) and the marginal note greatly strengthen the probability that the MS. in the possession of Allen in 1777 was Burghall's own MS.; from which Poole printed his abridged version very carelessly in 1778; and from which Cole in the same year made a full and *verbatim* copy.

Burghall's MS. having disappeared, it is impossible now to trace its history from the death of the author in 1665, to the year 1777 when it passed out of the hands of Allen into the possession of Cole; because neither Cole nor Poole has left any record of possessors prior to 1777. Remembering, however, that the Crewe collection of books of puritanical divinity and tracts connected with the disturbances of the 17th cent., which had been preserved in the library of Utkinton Hall, near Tarporley, was dispersed in the year 1755: Burghall's MS. may possibly have been obtained either by John Crewe, Esq., who died in 1670, or by his son, Sir John Crewe, Kt., who died in 1711, (both of whom were devoted archæologists) from some descendant of Edward Burghall living in the neighbourhood.

The seventeenth century was an age in which the heads of households often left behind them diaries or family memorials. Thus Nehemiah Wallington, a London tradesman, left in MS. 281 folios of *Historical Notes and Meditations*, 1583-1646 (published in two vols. in 1869); another MS. of 518 pp. called a "*Record of the Mercies of God*"; another of 107 folios, entitled "*God's Judgments on Sabbath Breakers*" (Sloane MSS., Brit. Mus., 1457); besides 209 folios of "*Religious Letters*" (*ibid.* 922).

Colonel Harwood, in the time of Charles I., kept a diary, which he called "*Slips, Infirmities, and Passages of Providence*"; and, in the spirit of the times, Burghall, too, entitled his memorial "*Providence Improved.*"

Puritan country gentlemen and clergymen gravely attributed every passing circumstance of life that was talked of in society, and the events of the war as they heard them told by travellers on the high road, or read them in occasional news-letters and pamphlets, to the interposition of the special providence of God. With them Providence was always against those who attended village wakes, or profaned the Sabbath; and always on the side of great armies and victory.

The appropriateness of the title, as expressing Burghall's views on the doctrine of an overruling and retributive Providence, will be better understood when it is remembered that the word "*improved*" was then equivalent to "*approved*," in the sense of being "*attested*"; and therefore it would appear that Burghall intended his memorial as a moral instrument for the benefit of his family.

*Providence Improved* commences with the year 1628, the birth-year of Burghall's eldest son. It was also the year of the assembling of Charles' third parliament; when Eliot had boldly spoken on the misgovernment of the Kingdom; when martial law had been debated on; when Coke and Selden had brought in the Petition of Right, to which Charles, in June, had given a reluctant assent; and the year when the Royal Declaration (which still appears in the book of Common Prayer, had been prefixed to the Articles of Religion, with the view of putting an end to the discussion of ecclesiastical questions in Parliament, by ordering the observance of the Articles in their "*literal and grammatical sense*"; words which Burghall, however he may have departed from them by practice and preaching in after years, doubtless heard from the lips of Samuel Torshell as he read the Declaration on entering his new cure at Bunbury in 1626.

Burghall was a Puritan; and *Providence Improved* shows the particular type to which he belonged. He was no Nonconformist, but rather, to use a modern phrase, a Low Churchman. Nor was he merely a Protestant clergyman of the Church of England; Burghall was a Presbyterian; and such men were the political foes of King Charles. Puritanism in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign was extreme Protestantism, producing a revival of the religious life of the people, and an improved moral tone in society. It was alike strongly opposed to Romanism, and to the movement known as the Renaissance, sometimes called Humanism, with its disbelief in religion and morals; which, originating in Italy, had, during the 16th century, spread itself over all Western Europe. But the Puritanism of King Charles' time was the growth of a religious system, narrow in its dogmatism, intolerant, inquisitorial, and inhumane; and hence it was not generally accepted by the agricultural population and by country squires. About the year 1638, Milton, before he had relinquished poetry for politics, described the "Merry England" of his youth in these words:—

"Som times with secure delight
The upland hamlets will invite,
When the merry bells ring round,
And the jocund rebecks sound
To many a youth and many a maid
Dancing in the chequer'd shade!
And young and old com forth to play
On a sunshine holyday,
Till the livelong daylight fail;
Then to the spicy nut-brown ale,
With stories told of many a feat:
How fairy Mab the junkets eat."

To Burghall, however, "Merry England" meant wicked England; and it was against such sports and pastimes,

which had received royal authority in 1618, and again in 1633, that Puritans like Burghall preached and wrote, believing, as they did, that the State ought to be subservient to Religion, and that the hand of God was in an especial manner working against the powers of evil, and the tyranny of Archbishop Laud and King Charles.

The *Declaration of Sports* (*c*) was answered in 1636 by Prynne's "*Divine Tragedy lately acted*," giving examples of sudden deaths of young men who had been guilty of the sin of ringing a peal of bells on the Sabbath, and of young women who had wickedly danced on that day. In 1641, John Ley, pastor of Great Budworth, in Cheshire, had published his "*Sunday a Sabbath, or a Preparative Discourse for discussion of Sabbatary doubts.*" And in the early pages of *Providence Improved*, the moralist Burghall not only recites the untimely deaths of notoriously wicked people that he had known or heard of while he was schoolmaster at Bunbury, and violently attacks the practices of bear-baiting, bowling, dancing, and drunkenness at Bunbury wakes (no doubt because, as elsewhere, they began on the Sunday), but he brings down his righteous indignation on a woman for profaning the Sabbath on Chester walls by

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(*c*) The King's Declaration says:—"And as for Our good peoples lawfull Recreation, Our pleasure likewise is, That after the end of Diuine Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, Such as dauncing, either men or women, Archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmlesse Recreation, nor from hauing of May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting vp of Maypoles & other Sports therewith vsed, so as the same be had in due & conuenient time, without impediment or neglect of Diuine Service: And that women shall haue leaue to carry rushes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old custome. But withall We doe here account still as prohibited all vnlawfull games to bee vsed vpon Sundayes onely, as Beare and Bullbaitings, Interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by Law prohibited, Bowling," &c. (*King Chas. I. Declaration to his subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used on Sundays.* 1633. Reprinted 1860.)

getting plums; and on a servant girl who danced round the may-pole at Peckforten; doubtless believing their deaths to have been instances of God's judgments on wickedness.

In like manner during the war times, Royalist losses and defeats were regarded by Burghall as instances of the vindictive providence of God on those who favoured the King, and merciful providences to those who favoured the Parliamentary cause. The same idea occurs again and again in Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle.* Thus at the outbreak of the war, when the King at Nottingham on Aug. 22nd, 1642, had few adherents to witness the raising of the Royal Standard, Vicars remarks:—

> "Was there not an apparent overpowering hand of God's providence manifesting his mercifull favour to his own cause [Parliamentary] now in deep agitation, and mightily crossing all courses undertaken to the contrary? Seest thou not how the *Commission of Array* hath hitherto thrived, and how the Counsells of ungodly adversaries have been hitherto extraordinarily frustrated? Who can, then, but ingeniously here acknowledge our *God to be most evidently seen in the Mount of mercies*; And thereupon with holy David, Israels sugred and sacred Singer, most freely confesse, that, *The Lord brings the Counsells of the wicked to nought:* &c. Psa. 33, 10, 11."—(John Vicars' "*God in the Mount,*" p. 138; published 1644.)

With their faith in the providence of God, the puritans of the 17th century united a belief in demonology, evil spells, omens, dreams, and witchcraft. The belief in witchcraft and forebodings of evil was not a mere superstition of poor, ignorant people. Calvinistic clergymen accepted and taught the doctrine of evil spirits and evil spells on human beings. That the belief was widespread and not confined to country people in thinly inhabited districts, is proved by the fact that, in the same year that Bishop Bridgeman tried

three women on a charge of witchcraft at Lancaster (*d*), money was paid by the vestry of the parish of Mortlake, near London, to a minister's wife that had had her son witched to death! (*e*)

If Dr. John Dee, Warden of Manchester, the famous scientist of his day, regarded witchcraft as magic, and disbelieved in evil spells; the Rev. William Bourne, B.D., senior fellow of the Collegiate Church of Manchester (serving at one time under Dee the astrologer), appears, from the evidence of the story told by Burghall (see p. 5), to have been an exorcist parson, who could cast out devils.

Still it must not be supposed that Burghall's coarse stories of adulterers, drunkards, and Sabbath-breakers are proof of the general impiety and immorality of the people of Cheshire during the times in which he lived; any more than the silly stories about wizards and the devil are proof that everybody believed in witchcraft and demonology.

These passages, commonplace and amusing as they now read, are interspersed with brief notices of events of historical importance; such as, for example, the outrage on Dr. Lambe; the assassination of Buckingham; Laud's visit to Edinburgh; the convocation of Bishops at York; the insurrection in Ireland; the war with the Scots, &c.

As the prelude to the Civil War, he alludes to the excited debate in the House of Commons on the "Grand Remonstrance" in Nov. 1641 (*f*); and mentions the King's attempt to seize the five members in January 1641-2;—

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(*d*) *Cal. State Pap. Dom. Series*, 1634-5.

(*e*) Anderson's *History of Mortlake.*

(*f*) This was the first alarm of Civil War. On Nov. 6th, 1641, it was proposed that Earl Essex be empowered by both Houses to command the train-bands south of the Trent, for the defence of the Kingdom, and "*That this power should continue until the Parliament should take further order.*" The Grand Remonstrance was passed on Nov. 22, 1641, by a majority of only eleven; and by it Parliament took up an attitude of war.

crises in the quarrel between Charles and his Parliament that hastened on the downfall of the monarchy. Then follow short paragraphs relating to the seizure by Parliament of the magazine at Hull, on or about Jan. 30th, 1641-2; the preparations of Parliament for putting the kingdom into a posture of defence, and the raising of the King's army in June and July, 1642; the entry of Lord Strange (afterwards Earl Derby) with 400 men into Manchester on July 15th, 1642, when the first blood was shed in the Civil War; the King's retreat from Hull on July 17th, 1642; and the opposition of Puritan gentlemen to the Royalist rising in Somersetshire, at Wells, on or about Aug. 7th, 1642.

The bare recital of these important events, without details and sometimes without dates, is in singular contrast with the minute particulars of the proceedings of the war which follow. But this difference in the style and subject-matter of Burghall's account of the Civil War from August 1642 to the year 1648, is accounted for by the fact that it is a plagiarism or paraphrase of Thomas Malbon's account of the War, which was written a few years before Burghall penned his *Providence Improved.* That Burghall has no just claim to the authorship of the memorial of the Civil War, notwithstanding some pretence to such a claim (see under dates, Oct. 23rd, 1642; March 29th, 1642-3; July 1643; May 1st, 1644; and Aug. 10, 1644) will be admitted now that the two MSS. are printed side by side.

If further proof be required, it will be seen that under date, Aug. 25, 1644, Burghall acknowledges his indebtedness to his author; although he adroitly conceals the author's name (see page 144).

After the year 1648, Burghall resumes his chronology of events in his own brief style; but even here, several local occurrences would not have been mentioned only that they had been recorded before by Malbon.

Of his original paragraphs, the most interesting are those which relate to matters of religion. Burghall had

lived to see great changes since the days of William Hinde, preacher of God's Word at Bunbury, and John Bruen, of Stapleford, Esq.;—local representative men of the old Puritanism. He had become a Presbyterian precisian, so bigoted in his theology, that he severely rebuked all who differed from him; and it is in this spirit of bitterness, after his ejectment from the living at Acton, that he concludes his memorial, perhaps unmindful, as he subscribed his name, that he had entitled it *Providence Improved.*

# MALBON'S ACCOUNT

OF THE

# CIVIL WAR.

THOMAS MALBON'S autograph account of the Civil War (1642-1648), written in a small but neat hand, is contained in 49 pages of folio manuscript, having between 56 and 60 lines on each page. At the end he subscribes his name, underlined and dated, according to his usual practice of signature. On the last page and half is a record of a few important events between the years 1648 and 1655; and then follows in curious characters (not his usual handwriting) "*Thomas Malbon oweth* [owneth] *this book.*"

This MS. is bound up in a volume of MSS. collected by William Cowper, M.D., and F.S.A., a Chester antiquary of last century, who died at Overlegh, near that city, in the year 1767. The historical collections known as the Cowper MSS. remained at Overlegh until about the year 1816; when Charles Cholmondeley, Esq. (*a*), who inherited Overlegh from his maternal uncle, Thomas Cowper, Esq., a nephew of the antiquary, removed from the Hall the MSS., books, paintings, etc., to his seat at Condover, near Shrewsbury, where they are still preserved by his grandson, Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq., by whose kindness I was

(*a*) Dr. Ormerod acknowledges (*History of Cheshire*, vol. i., p. 374, 2nd edition) his indebtedness to Chas. Cholmondeley for information from the Cowper MSS.; but he only makes two passing references to the Malbon MS. in the introduction to his History on pp. lix and lx.

permitted to make a *verbatim* copy of the Malbon MS. in February, 1882.

How the Malbon MS. came into the possession of Dr. Cowper is not certainly known; but it may be reasonably supposed that after the author's death in 1658, it would be prized and carefully kept by his son, George Malbon, of Bradeley Hall, in Haslington; where, too, it is assumed Burghall may have seen it. George, the son of George Malbon, and grandson of Thomas Malbon, was the last male descendant of the family. He died in 1708, leaving a daughter, who was married to Mr. Wright (*b*), of Brewer's Hall, near Chester, and only a short distance from Overlegh Hall, the seat of the Cowper family. Perhaps in this way (but this is only conjecture) the antiquary Cowper may have obtained the Malbon MS. from his neighbour Mr. Wright.

In proof of the genuineness of the Malbon MS. it may be remarked:—

From beginning to end the MS. is in Thomas Malbon's handwriting.

The date of the MS. is 1651, or twelve years earlier than the date of *Providence Improved.*

The exact precision of the title of the MS. shows what it manifestly is: namely, a consecutive narrative of the events of the war, complete in itself.

There is greater minuteness of detail in the names of persons and places. Occasionally, in the important lists of soldiers wounded, slain, or taken prisoners, Malbon has left a blank space where a name could not be ascertained; and it is very remarkable that no instance occurs in which Burghall attempts to supply these deficiencies (*cf.* 29th Oct., 1644; 18th Jan., 1644-5).

Its style throughout is characteristic of the time when it was written; and it contains peculiarities of phraseology

(*b*) Not *Kenright* as stated in Hinchliffe's *Barthomley*, p. 74, and in *Local Gleanings*, vol. ii., p. 283. For this information I am indebted to Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A.

which stamp it at once as a genuine production. The following may be noted as striking instances :—

Malbon's writing is a transcript of the speech, as well as an exposition of the thought of the times in which he lived. He not only contracts words according to the then common usage, and uses parentheses where we should now use commas ; but his peculiar spelling affords an interesting indication of the way in which words were then commonly pronounced. Thus he writes "*retorned*" for returned; "*revayled*" for revealed ; "*injoyed*" for enjoyed ; "*acquynted*" for acquainted ; "*yonge*" for young ; "*the*" for they, etc. ; in place-names, "*Te-erton*" for Tiverton ; "*Torpley*" for Tarporley ; "*Hanmyre*" for Hanmer, etc. ; and in personal names, "*Sir Richard Lewson*" for Sir Richard Leveson, etc. He almost invariably uses the ornamental **y** for the long **i** and the ornamental **v** for **u** ; and adds a final **e** mute to words in a most unaccountable manner—practices that had been characteristic of writing for several centuries ; while his peculiar use of capital letters seems to indicate, as a rule, word-emphasis.

The exact date of events is almost always given ; whereas Burghall frequently writes "*About the same time*," or simply "*On Monday*," omitting the day of the month and the year ; while there is much confusion in the dates about the time of the siege of Nantwich in Jan. 1643-4, and elsewhere, in Burghall's account.

Originally, Malbon generally used the word "*Enemy*" to describe the Royalist forces ; but, having apparently revised his MS., he has, in most instances, drawn his pen through that word, and substituted above the clearer phrase, "*the Kinges ptie.*" [party]. On the contrary, Burghall, manifesting his partisanship, often at the expense of clearness of expression, prefers, as a rule, the former word "*Enemy.*"

It is noticeable too that, while Burghall commonly gives the great Parliamentary general his designation as a gentleman, styling him *Sir* William Brereton, Malbon,

on the other hand, and with greater appropriateness, usually calls him *Colonel* Brereton, thus giving him his military rank.

Lastly, the minute descriptions of places in the locality of Nantwich, and the mention of so many family names, with their places of residence, prove beyond a doubt that the writer was well acquainted with that town and neighbourhood; whilst the details of events relating to persons and places throughout the county and the adjacent shires, which, in some instances, can be substantiated from parish registers, contemporary tracts, and other documents, are evidence that the writer must have held an official position in order to have acquired such a mass of local information of current events. And such was Thomas Malbon, gentleman, one of the Committee of Sequestrators in the garrison-town of Nantwich.

Malbon's Account of the War begins with the mention of a meeting of the County Commissioners of both parties near Nantwich on Aug. 11, 1642, three days after Sir William Brereton had had a drum publicly beaten in the streets of Chester for the Parliament; and eleven days before the King had raised his standard at Nottingham. It must be remembered that there was no formal declaration of war; but when Charles, on Jan. 10, 1642, with a small following from the estates of the realm, turned away from the representatives of the people in the Houses of Parliament, to seek more loyal subjects among the people themselves, it was clear that war could no longer be averted.

The struggle at once began between the two parties for the possession of Hull with its munition stores, and for the ordering of the Militia. In the end Parliament secured Hull and other important fortresses in the South; and enforced the Militia Ordinance: by which Deputy Lieutenants were nominated for each county, in the place of those holding Royalist opinions; and were empowered to call out the Militia (or train-bands, as they were called) to appoint officers, and put the country in a posture of defence. Places

and days were fixed for musters by order of Parliament, dated June 4th, 1642. The Deputy Lieutenants so appointed for Cheshire were:—*Sir William Brereton* (*b*), who, as member for the County in the Parliamentary interest, in three of Charles' Parliaments, had had a seat in the House of Commons since the year 1628; *Sir George Booth*, of Dunham Massey, a county gentleman, at the time far advanced in years; *Mr. William Marbury*, of Marbury; *Mr. Henry Manwaringe*, of Carincham; and others.

The King, refusing to recognise the Deputy-Lieutenants, issued at York on June 11, 1642, his Commission of Array with authority to muster the train-bands, or other supporters, under officers whom his Majesty would name. Charles appointed, on June 27, 1642, as Commissioners for the County of Chester: *Earl Rivers*, *James*, *Lord Strange* (shortly afterwards seventh *Earl Derby*), *Viscount Cholmondeley*, *Lord Kilmorey*, *Sir Peter Leycester*, *Sir Thomas Aston*, *Sir John Powell*, *Thomas Cowper* of Overlegh (then Mayor of Chester), *Mr. Thomas Savage* (brother to Earl Rivers), *Mr. Leech* of Carden, and others.

Preparations for the inevitable war having thus been general throughout the country all through the spring and summer of 1642, on Sept. 21 *Lord Grandison*, from the south, reached Nantwich; and in December *Earl Derby* entered Cheshire from the north; for the purpose, if possible, of securing the county for the King. Both attempts failed: and both noblemen withdrew their forces to the more loyal parts of Shropshire and Lancashire. Some of the county gentry, following the example of the Yorkshire gentry, before the close of the year met at Bunbury and agreed to a neutrality; which, however, was at once nullified by an order of Parliament.

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(*b*) A tract (*penes me*) entitled "*The Advice and Direction of both Houses of Parliament to Sir William Brereton and the rest of the Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Chester*," dated Thursday, Aug. 18, 1642, directs that the "Ordinance concerning the Militia be put in execution through the whole county," &c.

The internal struggle for the mastery then devolved on two Cheshire Knights: for the King, *Sir Thomas Aston*, who had represented Cheshire as a Royalist in the "Short Parliament" of 1640; and for the Parliament, *Sir William Brereton*, who, in Jan., 1642-3, received "Instructions" (*c*)

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(*c*) The "INSTRUCTIONS *agreed upon by the Lords & Commons for Sir William Brereton Bart., and Sir George Booth Knt., and the rest of the Deputy Lieutenants of the City & County of Chester; Ordered by the Lords and Commons, dated Monday, 9 Jan.* 1642." (Printed Jan. 11, 1642[-3], London) are contained in 8 pp. of closely printed matter under 27 articles. Briefly put, their powers were as follows:—

To put in execution the Ordinance of the Militia by calling out the Trained bands and volunteers, under Colonels, Lieut.-cols., Serjeant-Majors, Captains, and Officers whom they should nominate and appoint:

To apprehend and imprison all disaffected persons:

To stay and search all suspicious persons, and seize their goods.

To oppose and suppress all Rebellion and commotion in the county against Parl$^{t}$.

To hinder and forbid the execution of the Commission of Array.

To recompense those plundered by the royalists.

To report to Parl$^{t}$. all who refused the Resolutions and Orders of the Commons.

To declare that Parl$^{t}$. will provide for the King's safety.

To publish the Declarations of Parl$^{t}$., and certify proceedings of the war to the Speaker.

To disarm all popish recusants and popish (*i.e.*, loyal) clergymen.

To imprison all such popish recusants as do not confine themselves to their dwellings.

To seize the public magazines of the county.

To require all officers to perform the commands of the Parl$^{t}$.

To fortify places, and cause beacons to be watched, guarded and fired as occasion required.

To call together the inhabitants for contributions of money, plate, victuals, to be given or advanced for the defence of the county; and to appoint Treasurers for the same. All persons contributing to be repaid with 8 per cent. interest, and full value of their plate, with consideration for the fashion, not exceeding 1/- per oz.

To send up to Parl$^{t}$. all who were voted Delinquents.

To appoint Constables as watch and ward in convenient places in the county.

To join in association with adjacent counties for mutual defence.

To seize all rents, goods and chattels of those in arms against Parl$^{t}$.

To force all disaffected persons to contribute to the maintenance of the army.

appointing him commander of the Militia of Cheshire and Staffordshire. That there would be a strong contest in this county was soon shown by the fights at Nantwich on Jan. 28, and at Middlewich on March 13, 1643; and also by the position of affairs in the neighbouring counties during the first few months after the outbreak of the war.

Shropshire, with its garrison towns of Shrewsbury and Whitchurch; the Celtic inhabitants of Wales; Chester city and its immediate neighbourhood; the western half of Lancashire, including Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington; and the southern half of Staffordshire with the county-town of Stafford, and the Cathedral city of Lichfield, declared for the King: while Cheshire to the east of the line of Peckforten Hills and Delamere Forest, with its garrisons at Beeston Castle, at Nantwich, and at Northwich; together with North Staffordshire and the manufacturing district of east Lancashire, with the trading towns of Blackburn, Bolton and Manchester, held with the Parliament. In the area thus defined as favourable to the Parliamentary cause, Puritanism was constantly vexed by the Royalism of those who occupied manorial houses, as Adlington, Biddulph, Cholmondeley, Eccleshall, Norton, &c.; producing perhaps greater inveteracy of local feeling than in larger areas, where whole counties were favourable to one side or the other.

It would be difficult to account for the persistent activity and vigilance of Sir William Brereton and his officers with their regiments, attacking first one gentleman's house, then another; plundering cattle and provisions, and destroying property; if the enmity amongst

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To conduct the war according to the Ordinances published by Earl Essex.

To protect those who forsook the party of the Commission of Array.

To direct, employ and bestow all money, victuals, arms, horses, &c., &c.

(Abstract of the Articles of *Instructions* from the original tract *penes me.*)

neighbours had not been great. And in these north-western counties, although there was no battle of first importance like Marston Moor or Naseby, yet the bitterness of desultory warfare and fratricidal strife was as intense among the soldiery as in the planned engagements of greater campaigns.

The main interest of Malbon's narrative is the record of these local frays; and, but for his account, very little would have been known to succeeding generations of the part played by the people of Cheshire and the neighbouring counties in the Great Civil War. He rather chronicles than describes these skirmishes because of the general absence of military tactics. Most of the plundering excursions were doubtless undertaken by leaders on their own responsibility; or, at best, were hastily arranged by a local Council of War; and privates, who shouldered their muskets and rushed away in a bravado, frequently returned to their garrison with great speed and in much fear. Many engagements were mere hap-hazard fighting, in which a volley of shot, or even a shout, was often followed by a run.—(See, *e.g.*, page 80.)

Malbon was a Puritan, and therefore he dilates with pleasure and satisfaction on successful sallies of the garrison of Nantwich, and on advantages gained by the Parliamentary forces elsewhere; while he speaks with bated breath of the fears of the Nantwich soldiery when assaults were expected, or actually made by superior numbers; and when reverses overtook the troops or foraging parties of the garrison. He does not forget to condemn acts of cruelty, or injustice, on the part of the Royalists, and shows the prevailing uncharitableness of the times by recording similar acts of his own party, particularly executions of Irishmen.

Malbon not only relates in historical sequence an account of these local struggles, but he briefly mentions important actions of the war in the more distant parts of the country; probably obtaining his information from

pamphlets that were eagerly sought by those who were anxious for war news; or from contemporary journals, such as John Vicars' "*Parliamentary Chronicle*" (1641-1646), to which frequent reference is made in the foot-notes of this volume. In these paragraphs the numbers of contending parties, of the slain, and of prisoners, are often over-estimated (*e.g.* Edgehill battle, &c.); but remembering how difficult it must have been to obtain correct information of distant battles when hireling writers fabricated accounts, (*d*) and when Parliament made it dangerous for a printer (as early as 1642) to publish anything that might favour the King's cause, Malbon's "*breefe & true Relacon*" would, undoubtedly, have been the worse without those details; and, therefore, making allowance for his political bias, and for occasional exaggerations, we must accept Malbon's particulars of what happened as a faithful account of what really took place "*soe trulie as the wryter hereof cold come by the knowledge of the same.*"

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(*d*) Sir John Gell, a Derbyshire gentleman, and Parliamentary officer mentioned in these pages, boasted much of his deeds in war. He "kept the diurnall makers in pension, so that whatever was done in the neighbouring counties against the enemy [Royalists] was attributed to him. . . . . He was never by his good will in a fight, but either by chance or necessity; and that which made his courage the more question'd was, the care he tooke, and the expence he was att, to get it weekely mentioned in the diurnalls; so that when they had nothing elce to renowne him for, they once put in that the troopes of that valliant commander, Sr John Gell, tooke a dragoon with a plush doublett."—(*Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, edit. 1808, pp. 107-8.)

# SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

IT remains for me to give in brief outline the principal military movements in the north-western counties, in order to form a better understanding of Malbon's somewhat bewildering details.

*First Year of the War, Sept.* 1642—*Sept.* 1643.

King Charles arrived at Shrewsbury from Nottingham, on Sept. 20, 1642, and came to Chester on Sept. 23. Returning to Shrewsbury in a few days, he left there on Oct. 12, on a southward march; his infantry consisting largely of countrymen in rustic attire, and armed with implements of husbandry, scythes, bill-hooks, &c.; his troops of Cavaliers being gaily dressed gentlemen on horses, with sash and plume, embroidered collar, glittering cuirass, mailed gauntlets, ornamental sword-belt, high boots, and armed with pistols, sword and battle-axe. It was commonly believed that one battle would decide all; but after the indecisive action at Edgehill (Oct. 23), the West of England became the theatre of the King's operations, with Oxford as his head-quarters (Oct. 29).

During the winter of 1642-3 discussions went on in the House of Commons between the peace-party led by Holles and the war-party led by Pym; and while many members who held positions in the army left their regiments in Feb. 1643 to vote against the peace proposals, Sir William Brereton was actively engaged; so that by the end of March he had defeated Sir Thomas Aston at Middlewich, the Earl of Northampton at Stafford, and had opposed Lord Derby at Warrington.

In the spring of 1643 Lord Capell maintained the King's cause in Shropshire; and on April 6, he urged Rupert to advance against Brereton and take Nantwich. Rupert took Lichfield on April 21, but had to abandon his northern march in aid of the royalists of Shropshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, under Capell, Derby, and Newcastle respectively, in order to render assistance to the King at Reading.

By the end of September, 1643, the Lancashire Puritans had got possession of their own county, except Lathom House; Brereton held Cheshire, except Chester City, and had pushed his way westwards as far as Hawarden; and Sir Thomas Middleton had reduced Shropshire as far south as Wem.

*Second Year of the War, Sept.* 1643—*Sept.* 1644.

In Sept. 1643 two political arrangements influenced the course of events. On Sept. 15, the King declared the cessation of hostilities against the rebels in Ireland, in order to bring over the English Army (believed at the time to be native Irishmen, and so nicknamed papists) to quell the rebellion in England; and on Sept. 25, Parliament inaugurated the Solemn League and Covenant, the main object of which was, if possible, to bring the war to a speedy end by calling in the aid of a Scotch Army; the former project causing many to desert the King's cause, and the latter leading to angry discussions and ultimate failure. The principal events of the second year of the war were the defeat of the Irish Army and the failure of the royalists against the Scots.

On Nov. 18, 1643, 2,500 soldiers from Leinster landed at Mostyn, co. Flint, and joined John, Lord Byron's army of 1,300 at Chester. Marching across Cheshire, they had, before the end of the year, environed Nantwich; Brereton having retreated with the Lancashire portion of his army towards Manchester, in order to prevent Byron from marching north-east to join Derby and Newcastle against the Scots.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, after taking Gainsborough on Dec. 20, passed through the south of Yorkshire, joined Brereton in Lancashire; and, marching across Delamere Forest in severe frost and snow, completely overthrew the Irish Army at Nantwich on Jan. 25, 1644.

The next great military movement was Rupert's northern march in aid of Earl Derby and the Marquis of Newcastle. He was at Shrewsbury on Feb. 21, 1644, recruiting his army from Wales and Chester. On March 13 he set out for Newark, and relieved that town on the 21st; and returned to Shrewsbury, causing dismay in Cheshire. Called away to the south (April 4), he was at Oxford on April 25; from which city, on May 5, he started again for the north. Leaving Shrewsbury May 16, his movements are detailed by Malbon: at Whitchurch on May 18; thence to Market Drayton; on Sunday May 19 through Audlem, Buerton, Hankelow, and Woore; at Betley May 21; thence to Haslington, Sandbach, and Warmingham; to Rudheath on May 22; at Knutsford on May 24; at Stockport on the next day; at Bolton in Lancashire on May 28; at Liverpool on June 11; across Lancashire to York; to his disastrous defeat at Marston Moor on July 2, 1644.

At the end of the second year Lathom House and Liverpool, Chester and Beeston Castle, Shrewsbury and High Ercall, with Shropshire south of the Severn, still held out for the King; but the local Parliamentary forces had gained ground; Colonel Mytton having taken Oswestry in May; and Sir Thomas Middleton having, on Aug. 5, defeated Rupert at Welshpool, and, on Sept. 18, secured Montgomery and the district of the Upper Severn.

*Third Year of the War. Sept.* 1644—*Sept.* 1645.

On Feb. 22, 1645, Col. Mytton captured the important garrison of Shrewsbury. To retrieve, if possible, this serious loss to the King's cause, Rupert was again dispatched northwards. By a rapid march he joined his brother Prince Maurice, who had been plundering in the

county of Denbigh, at Prees and Whitchurch, and on March 17 relieved Beeston Castle, which was then besieged by Brereton. Brereton retreated to the north of Cheshire (Bowdon and Knutsford), where his army was increased by Scotch regiments under David Leslie out of Yorkshire. This aid, however, came too late, for owing to a rising in Herefordshire, Rupert was obliged to move southwards, to the disappointment and dismay of Lord Byron, the governor of Chester.

The next great military movement was the King's march to the north and the Naseby Campaign.

Charles left Oxford on May 9, 1645; arrived at Droitwich May 11; and proceeded to Newport and Market Drayton; thence through the midlands to his defeat at Naseby. The vigilant Brereton, fearing lest Charles should pass through Cheshire to the north, as Rupert had done the year before, retreated from Chester and Beeston Castle to Barlow Moor (within a few miles of Manchester), where he gathered forces from various garrisons in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire; and at the same time he sent soldiers to the defences at Nantwich, as he had done when the Irish Army landed in 1643. On May 13, 1645, Brereton, who the day before had been exempted by the House of Commons from obeying the Self-Denying Ordinance, wrote the following letter, still preserved in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., and also printed in Webb's *Civil War Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 373-4:—

> "*Sir Wm Brereton to y^e^ Gen^l^ of Nampt^wch^: to make Provision for y^e^ Garrison.*"
>
> "Gentlemen,
>
> The Comittee of both Kingdoms expect yor Garrisons should be well provided: Yor own Care & judgm^t^ will I hope prompt you sufficiently thereunto & the rather because what is not brought into yor Garrison is but left to sustaine and nourish the Enemy.
>
> I desire every one of y^e^ Comittee would take a Pte. and sett themselves in earnest to worke, after you haue all considered and resolued in what way to prosecute

this worke *Quod facis fac cito:* I desire Mr. Peartree, (and euery of you who hath any acquaintance & opertunity) would send out some intelligencers, who may giue tymely notice of ye Enemyes approaches.

Sett all yor People in Towne on work to finish and strengthen yor workes.

Make Proclaymacon that euery Inhabitant in ye Towne make speedy provission for one month beforehand. *Liberavi animam meam*, farewell,

Yor very Lo: friend

WM. BRERETON.

"Tarvin May 13°. 1645.

"Send for Walker ye Scoutmrs Horse: Keepe one good Scouter & alsoe foote Scoutes, the want thereof was ye losse of Shrewsbury: Pray you send ont Messingers Horsemen, and who may be quick and expeditious; and lett noe man expect to shelter himselfe in yor Garrison, & to keepe Horses, that will not Imploy them for ye Publique seruice in tyme of need: you may if you please and you thinke good, keepe & Imploy ye Troope of Horse of Lieut. Col. Watsons, wch is now in yr parts to procure intelligence and helpe in p'uisions."

The fears of the garrison at Nantwich, however, passed away after May 22, when King Charles left Drayton and marched eastward, instead of coming into Cheshire.

During the summer of 1645 the local parliamentary forces in Shropshire had reduced several royalist garrisons; so that, out of twenty which at the outbreak of the war declared for the King, there remained in Sept. 1645 only three—Ludlow, Bridgenorth, and High Ercall. The strongholds of Chester, Beeston Castle, and Lathom House still held out at the end of the third year of the war.

### *Fourth Year of the War, Sept.* 1645—*Sept.* 1646.

King Charles again set out for the north through mid-Wales, arriving at Chirk Castle on the night of Sept. 22, 1645. The Royalists in Chester had long been in a state

of siege; and on Sept. 20 Col. Michael Jones had taken the eastern suburbs, but had been repulsed at the city walls on the 22nd. Charles with 340 horse entered Chester for the last time on the following day; while Sir Marmaduke Langdale with a troop of cavalry planted himself on Rowton Heath, about two miles south-east of the city. On Sept. 24 General Poyntz, who had hurried from Whitchurch the night before with his troop of horse, encountered and ultimately defeated Langdale; the result being that Charles had to alter his plans of reaching Scotland. From that day until Feb. 3, 1646, Chester was closely blockaded, when it capitulated to Sir William Brereton.

Beeston Castle had surrendered to Brereton on Nov. 15, 1645; and Lathom House to Col. Booth on Dec. 3, 1645.

High Ercall followed on March 30, 1646; Bridgenorth on April 28; and Ludlow on May 17.

Charles declared the war was at an end on June 10, 1646, at Newcastle-on-Tyne; but in remote places the royal order was either unknown, or its authenticity was suspected; and so the struggle lingered on in North Wales for nearly nine months longer.

Oxford surrendered June 24, 1646; Lichfield, July 16; Worcester, July 23; Flint, Aug. 24; Denbigh, Oct. 27; Conway, Nov. 12; Holt, Jan. 15, 1647 (the same day Nantwich was disgarrisoned); Chirk Castle, Feb. 28; and Harlech Castle held out for the King until March 13, 1647.

### *The Second Civil War*, 1648.

Malbon mentions a few incidents of the second Civil War, which broke out in April, 1648; and which, though short, was determined and formidable. Berwick and Carlisle in the north; Pembroke in the west; and Colchester in the east, declared for the King; a plot was formed at Chester; and all Wales was again in insurrection.

South Wales was subdued by Cromwell when Pembroke Castle surrendered on July 11, 1648. In North Wales Sir John Owen was defeated and taken prisoner near Carnarvon; and Lord Byron, who entered Anglesea in August, fled to France, after Col. Mytton had captured the town and castle of Beaumaris on Sept. 30, 1648.

Cromwell signally defeated and dispersed the Scotch Army at Preston on Aug. 17, 1648; and Hamilton, with the remnant of his army (about 3,000 horse), being pursued by Lambert southwards across Cheshire to the neighbourhood of Nantwich, and having lost about 1,000 in their pursuit, fled across Staffordshire until he and all his soldiers were taken prisoners.

Colchester surrendered on Aug. 28; and Berwick and Carlisle in October, 1648.

Thus ended the internecine struggle between King Charles and his Parliament: which the people of those times spoke of as England's great "troubles"; which after generations, who lived when Church and State were again settled, described as England's Great Rebellion; and which we, who have a longer retrospect, now call England's Great Revolution.

JAMES HALL.

LINDUM HOUSE, NANTWICH,
*June*, 1889.

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## ERRATUM.

On page xxxi, Introduction, *for* "two Cheshire Knights" *read* "two Cheshire gentlemen, a knight and a baronet."

# MEMORIALS

OF THE

# CIVIL WAR IN CHESHIRE

## AND THE ADJACENT COUNTIES.

## Mr. Burghall, Vicar of Acton,

### In Cheshire, His MS. Intituled

## Providence Improved.

(Cole MS. 50, f. 106, et seq.)

1628.

THERE was a remarkable Judgement light upon a wicked debauched Fellow in Bunbury, one Robinson a Bear-ward, who followed that unlawfull Calling, whereby God is much dishonoured, (especially at such Popish Festivals called Wakes,) was cruelly rent in Peices by a Bear, & soe died fearfully. It is a true Proverb, *In quo quisque peccat, in eo punitur.* That worthy Man Mr. Hind,* then preach'd at Bunbury, had not without Cause much inveighed against those Disorders, which were usually at Bunbury Wakes, & had threatened God's Judgements against the same, but could not prevail utterly to remove them, tho' he endeavoured it to the uttermost. But in due Time [1628]

* This Hind wrote the Life of John Bruen of Stableford Esqr. & marryed his Sister. (MS. Note by Mr. Allen on the opposite page, which, however, is not correct as to the latter statement.)

[1628] God makes good his Word in the Mouth of his Ministers, to the Confusion of the Wicked. Oh! that Men would learn at last to be wise, before the heavy Wrath of God fall upon them.

The Hand of God was eminently remarkable upon a Usurer in Bunbury Parish, one J. Rawlison, who having a Living, being rich in Goods & Money, & daily encreasing his Estate by Usury, & making hard Bargains, a Moth, secretly & insensibly, entred into his Estate, which wained & wasted, & by Degrees consumed away, & within a While he began to be a very poor Man, though he had lived niggardly & sparingly enough; & soe that in Prov. 28, 22, was made good, He that hasteth to be rich hath &c. This Man was also given up to the great Sin of Whoredom, for which he did publick Penance. Soll: saith, By Means of a whorish Woman a Man is brought to a Morsel of Bread.

This Year alsoe M$^{r}$. Lee of High-Lee in Cheshire, having been Abroad, & coming Home drunk, as he went to water his Horse, was drowned in his Mote.

About the same Time were divers Drunkards taken away suddenly by the just Hand of God, some being drowned; as one hard by Hampton Post; others by untimely Deaths.

This Year* D$^{r}$. Lamb, the Conjurer, a debauched vile Wretch, coming from a Play House, was slain by certain Sailars & Apprentices in London.

This Year† the D. of Buckingham was stabbed by John Felton at Plymouth [*sic* for Portsmouth]. *Quod ab Hominibus injuste fieri solet, a Deo justo justissime fit.* Luk: 1. 52.—Ps: 37. 35. 36.—Ps: 73. 19.20.

One M$^{r}$. Sandford, not far from Namptwich, died of a drunken Surfeit. W$^{m}$. Symme of Allpram, having the End of his Nose bitten off by John Astbrock of Bunbury in a drunken Frey, this Year lost alsoe one of his Eyes in a mad Quarrel, by Wm. Wittor of Torperly, who was alsoe an Adulterer.

June 19th. M$^{r}$. Hind, that worthy Minister of Bunbury departed this Life, after much Weakness. A great Loss of him; having been a greater [*sic*] Inveigher against the Wickedness of the

* D$^{r}$. Lambe, the necromancer, & friend of the Duke of Buckingham, was killed on 13th June, 1628.

† Aug. 23, 1628.

Times: was buried June 21. Mr. Langley* preacht on Prov. 14. [1628]
32.

1629. About this Time dy'd M^rs Masterston†, a Pattern of Piety. [1629]
A violent Sickness took many Families; especially the Family of Utkinton.

This Year there was great Dissention between K. Charles I. & the Lower House of Parl: The Reason was for denying Tondage & Poundage, & because they might not have Liberty to censure the Arminian Bps.‡ Laud, Neyl [Neile], Montegue, Heuson [Howson]. The Speaker denying to read some Writing comanded by the House, & seeking to go to the King (being by him comanded,) was stayed by 2 of the House in his Chair, & after getting forth, was fetcht again, the Par: Door was lockt, & some that came from the King were denyed Admittance: The K. came himself, & broke it up speedily§. 9 Knights and Burgesses were comitted to Prison.

One Rob. Betteley of Bunbury, an old Man, standing on a Ditch-bank, to crop a Bough from a Tree, the Bough falling into the Ditch, he striving to pull it up with his Bill, fell backward with violence, and broke his Neck.

1630. A Woman in Minshall, one Porter, dyed very suddenly: [1630]
for coming Home from the Market in perfect Health, & eating her Supper well, she fell ill & dyed suddenly.

This Year was a Plague in London & Cambridge, & many other Places of the Kingdome: not so dangerous for the Greatness of the Infection, as for the strange dispersing of it: & the removing of the Students from Cambridge caused also a great Dearth.‖

A remarkable Judgement fell upon one Cooper, a Baker in Cambridge; who returning to the Town, after the Plague, instead of giving Thanks to God, fell to revelling, dancing, and drinking;

---

* Mr. Langley, minister at Middlewich, 1609-1657.

† Frances, 3rd dau. of Sir John Done, of Utkinton, Kt.; and first wife of Thomas Maisterson, Esq., of Nantw ich. She was buried at Tarporley, 23 April, 1629, having died within two days of her father.

‡ These Bishops were respectively of London, Winchester, Chichester, and Durham. The Arminian movement was characterized by the doctrine of sacramental grace, and reverential form of worship; and was opposed to Calvinism, and a plainer ceremonial.

§ For eleven years after England was without a Parliament.

‖ "Vide Hist: of Benet College, p. 141. 146. & Appendix." (*Cole.*)

[1630] but in the Midst of his Jollity, he fell down suddenly, & dyed; not of the Plague, but some other Stroke of God. Reported by Mr. Tho. Aldersea in a Letter to his Father.

This Year the Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven was committed to the Tower for horrible Uncleanness of Sodomy, unnaturall Adultery & Incest as hath not been heard in our Dayes. This Man was a Papist & so justly given over of God to corporall Filthiness for his spirituall Abomination of Idolatry.

[1631] 1631. This Year many were taken away by Feavers, & other sore Diseases; among the Rest a hopefull yong Gentlewoman, Mis Elis: Mainwaring, Daughter to Mr. George Mainwaring of Bunbury: shee dyed of a Pleurisy somewhat suddenly. The said Mr. Mainwaring had a Maid-Servant who had had 4 Bastards, which he was informed of, yet because she was a good Work-Woman, kept her still. Now the Night before his Daughter dyed, he had a very strange Dream. Hee thought he saw a dead Corps, laide on a Bier, carried out of a little Chamber adjoyning to his own, & passing thro' it, he saw a round Circle all red like the Breadth of a Sheet, hovering to & fro, & when the Corps came into his own Chamber, out of the other, the red Circle pointed down, & fell right upon it, & so passt along into his Gallery. Such Dreams as these are not to be slighted. Its like he was waked by it to enquire further concerning his Servant: but I never heard that he did.

This Year there were 5 Aldermen of Maxfield, [Macclesfield] who meeting at a Tavern, & drinking excessively of Sack and Aqua Vitæ,* 3 of them dyed the next Day, & the other 2 were dangerously sick. Oh! that Drunkards at last would learn to be wise!

One J. B. of Buckley going to Chester, & drinking too liberally, came to one Mr. Collies House, his Unkle, & being taken in Bed with a Servant of his, his Uncle brake his Head. The Shame of which Act, & the Horror of Conscience wrought so upon him, that he was in a Kind of Distraction for a good Space of Time.

A Memorable matter was related to Mr. Aldersey of Spurstow, from one Mis Brown, a Woman of Credit, & good Esteem, living in Herefordshire: & it was thus. Her Husband having a Mare

* Aqua vitæ is synonymous with the French eau-de-vie.

stollen, was advised by a Brother in Law of his, to go to a Wizzard, to know where his Mare was: but he would use no such unlawfull Meanes. Soon after, this Brother in Law had 2 Mares of his own stol'n, & went to the Wizzard to know where to find them. He told him, in such a Place he should find one of them in another Man's Team; & bad him take her & ride on her Home, but he must not alight off her Back for any Cause, before he came Home. The Man, as he rode homeward, thought hee met one riding on his other Mare, & forgetting the Wizzard's Comand, presently leapt off the Mare he rode on, & went to the other, and catcht her about the Neck, to stay her, which, as he was doing, hee thought the Man, or rather the Devill, leapt on the Mare that hee had alighted from, & that Mare, which he thought he saw with the Man on her Back, vanisht away suddenly. Then he knew, that it was a Delusion of the Devill, & imediately fell mad upon it, & being within a Mile of his own House, knew not where he was, nor what he did: & when he was led Home, hee knew neither Wife nor Children, & so continued in this sad Condition for a good Space of Time: & tho' he came afterwards to have his understanding somewhat, yet he never had the perfect Use of it as formerly. [1631]

Another memorable Matter was related to me by Mrs. Crew of Utkinton: & it was thus. A Taylor in Manchester going abroad with his Yard in his Hand, on some Buisness [*sic*] was met in the way by a Man, as he thought, who having Cloth under his Arm, asked him to make a Suite of Clothes for him of that Cloth, which he assented to; & as he was taking Measure of him, he discovered something, that made him think that he was the Devill that appeared to him. Whereupon he was much troubled in his Mind, and went imediately to Mr. Bourn,* a Minister in Manchester, who advised him, when he cut the Cloth, to lay a Sheet on the Table, that none of the Shreds might be lost: which he did accordingly: and having made the Clothes, M^r^ Broutn, [*sic in MS.*] (having kept a Day of Humiliation before) went with the man towards the place, where he was appointed to bring the Clothes, but stayed at a Distance, & bade the Man be of good Courage. The Devill, in the Likeness of a

* Rev^d^. William Bourne B.D. Senior Fellow of Collegiate Church, Manchester. He was buried 26 Aug. 1643.

[1631] Man, came according to Promise, & the Taylor delivering him the Clothes, hee replyed thus: Oh! yonder is Brourn, thy holey Father, who hath instructed thee what to doe! & soe vanisht out of his Sight, without doing the Man any Harm at all. This Mrs. Crew had from a known & approved Witnesse.

The Judgment of God was very remarkable & fearful upon the Wife of Ric: Capper of Bunbury, who runing away from her Husband, & marrying another who was married, having lived with him till his Death, shee then marryed another: but a secret Judgment of God befell her in her secret parts, which rotted away, & thus she lingered a long Time. Of her the Saying of the Ap: was verified, 1. Tim. 5. 6. Dead while she lives.

This Year, the 30 of July, being Saturday was terrible Thunder & Lightning, whereby much Hurt was done in many Places. In Warton a Windmill was torn in Peices. On Houghton Mosse 23 Sheep were killed with the Thunderbolt: & in many other Places much Hurt was done. With this Kind of Thunder came a strange Kind of Hail; & namely in Nantwich, where the Like hath not been seen.

This Year the Plague was dangerously dispersed in many Parts of the Kingdome: as in London, Yorke, Yorkshire, Lancashire, & especially in Preston, where it raged so that the Town was almost depopulated, & the Corn rotted on the Ground for want of Reapers. It was also in Shrewsbury, Wrexham & many other Parts of Wales: but Cheshire was graciously preserved, where were many publick Fasts kept for the turning away of God's Hand.

The Judgment of God was manifested upon one Rich: Hotchkis of Burwarhay, who having got a good Estate, grew so proud, that he disdained to own his own Father. At length falling into the Sin of Uncleannesse, had a Bastard by a poor Woman, which he forsware. Afterwards he sent for his own Sister, got her with Child, & kept other Women dishonestly. At last he was complained of to the Bp. & a Petition put up against him to the King, (whose Servant he was,) as guilty of great Misdemeanors, especially for the Murder of the Child hee had by his own sister: whereupon he fled, & so his Goods were seized on for the King.

John Massy, Son of Mr. Massy of Coddington, having been at Ridley, hee came from thence to Bunbury, with Mr. G. Spurstow,

& divers others, who drunk so much Ale & Aqua vitæ, that some of them could not go Home. But he returned next Day to his Father's House in Health, as they thought, supt well, & after Supper said he was sick, & intreated his Sister to bring him to Bed: but before he could get his Cloathes off, turning him on his Bed, hee said, My Heart is broken; Lord have mercy upon me; & so dy'd presently. [1631]

This year, one Tho: Tattenhall, M^r. Standley of Aldersey* his Cook, coming into Bunbury Parish to visit his Friends, & especially one Ellen Wilbraham of Terton†, who was reported to be married to him, though secretly (she herself said contracted) was slain by a Fall from his Horse. Hee had been up & down drinking hard & I was told, that hee was for certain then drunk.

About the same Time one M^r. Wyn of Whitechurch, being drunk, drew his Rapier, & run his own Sister through, because she would have had him from the Alehouse.

Another in Northwich, being drunk, fell down into the Channell of the Street, & in the Fall dasht his Head upon the Horn of a Tanner's Hide, & so killd himself.

Another in Cholmley, being drunk, dyed in his Vomiting. These Examples upon Drunkards fell out in 2 or 3 Dayes together.

1632. Also in Tattenhall a notorious Drunkard dy'd as he had lived, calling for his Pots, & naming his Hostesses imediately before his Death. *Qualis Vita, Finis ita.* [1632]

This Year one of M^r. Masterson's Tennants being drunk, fell of[f] his Horse, & broke his Neck.

In Manchester, one M^r. Baker, a Minister, being drunk, fell down into the water & was drowned.

Another was drowned at Congleton; & in London one of the Lord Crew's‡ Men was drowned at Thames.

The Vice Chancellor of Cambridge hanged himself for some Displeasure the King had taken against him. Also a Man of Rob. Nanton's came to the same untimely End.

May 12. M^r. Cole, School-master of Bunbury, departed

---

* *Sic* for Alderley.

† Terton is Tiverton, near Tarporley. It is still locally pronounced Te-erton.

‡ Sir Ranulphe Crewe, Lord Chief Justice.

[1632] this life, having been sick eight weeks before.* One Ric: Houlse in Acton Parish, being drunk, fell off his Horse, and broke his Neck hard by Acton Church. Another Drunkard in Terton, one John Walley, fell off a Beam in a Pigeon House, & being drunk broke his Neck. Not long before he had said to a Neighbor, who had sown his Ground to parts,† The Devill break my Neck, if thou reap that which thou hast sown, & it came to pass accordingly. One in Weverham killed himself.

A Woman in Over was drowned. James Wright of Northwich, being drunk, fell off his Horse, & broke his Neck. Mr. Tho: Booth, 2 Son of Sir Geo. Booth of Dunham, riding desperately, fell off his Horse and broke his Neck. Divers also came to untimely Ends about this Time.

Remarkable Judgments fell upon Eliz. Allen of Spurstow, who having a Daur. married to a poor Man against her Consent, was wont to curse them both on her Knees, for which being reproved, she sayd, She would curse the Man as long as shee lived. But God's Judgments light both upon herself & her Relations. She had an Ulcer on her Leg, occasioned by a little Scratch. A Surgeon was sent for to cut it off, but was prevented by Death. Her Daughter, whom shee had so cursed, became lame in her Back and Hips, & so continued to her dying Day. Another yonger Daur. had a lingring Distemper upon her, & at last married very uncomfortably: she had only one Son, a hopefull Youth & a fine Schollar, whom God took away in the Flower of his Age.

A great Man in this County, Sir H. C. going to Bed in Health & having conjugall Society with his Wife (as she afterwards confessed to a private Friend,) turned himself to the other Side of the Bed, & died presently.‡

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* "1632. May 14 William Cole head schoolemaister of the free grammar Schoole at Bunbury." (Bunbury Burial Register.)

† This expression is perhaps equivalent to the Cheshire dialect word "*partly*," which means, *nearly*. A Cheshire farmer still says he has sown his wuts (oats) partly.

‡ "This Judgment would make fine Diversion for the Ladies: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu would put any Construction upon it, rather than this." (*Cole.*)

This Year a Boy of one Cratchleys, a Parator in Acton, [1632-3]
hanged himself very desperately. The Report was, that he was almost famished before, for Want of Meat,* by a Step Mother.

There was a terrible Fire on London Bridge, that consumed & burnt down 50 Houses.† The Loss was thought to be 100 Thousand Pound.

This Year one M^r. Sherwin‡, [Sherfield] Recorder of Salisbury, was questioned and fined in the Star Chamber for breaking a Glass Window, that had the Picture of God the Father in it, The B^ps. of York & London were very severe against him, and defended the Lawfulness of Pictures for History, Memory and Devotion, & gave Instance in a Crucifix. The Temporall Lords, viz: Dorset, Privy Seal, & the Lord Keeper, defended the Act as lawfull, because it had been proved, that that picture had been worshipt by divers, but censured him for the Manner of doing it, and fined him 500£, but the other in a far greater sum.

"AB^ps. Laud and Neile."

1633. Oct: 2 was such a Tempest of stormy Winds & Rain [1633]
as of late hath not been seen: it did much Hurt in many Places shaking & overturning Trees & Houses, yea of starving & drowning many People. A Neighbor's Child, by Name, Tho: Oulton, a towardly Child, having been at Haughton, with his Sister, &

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* "Meat," *i.e.* food; still common as a provincialism.

† This fire began about 10 o'clock p.m. on Monday, Feb. 11th, 1632-3. Stow, in his *Annals*, says:—"There happened in the house of one [John] *Briggs*, a needlemaker, near St. Magnus Church, at the north end of the bridge (by the carelessness of a maidservant, setting a tub of hot seacoal ashes under a pair of stairs), a sad and lamentable fire, which consumed all the buildings before eight of the clock the next morning, from the north end of the bridge, to the first vacancy on both sides, containing forty-two houses; water then being very scarce, the Thames being almost frozen over." A detailed account of this fire by an eyewitness is given in Wallington's *Historical Notices*, vol. i., pp. 16-20.

‡ Henry Sherfield, M.P. for Salisbury, Recorder of that City, and member of the vestry of the parish of St. Edmund's. It was in that parish church that Sherfield, ordered by the vestry to substitute plain white glass for the painted glass, broke the window with a stick in defiance of Bishop Davenant. The Star Chamber prosecution was in Feb. 1633. Sherfield died soon after, and the fine had to be paid by his relatives.

[1633-4] coming Homewards towards Alpram, was starved to Death by the Extreamity of the Storm, notwithstanding that his Father met him in the Town Feild, & carried him on his Back, hoping to have brought him safe Home; but he dyed in his Arms. The Lord hath his Way in the storm. Nah: 1. 3.

1633-4. Jan: 1. Between 2 & 3 of the Clock in the Morning was a great & terrible Earthquaque, whereupon there ensued that Month, & the Month following terrible Winds, & much wet & tempestuous Weather, whereby the Lord threatened Dearth & Famine.

This Year Mr. Pryn, a learned Lawyer, & a pious Man, was deeply censured in the Star Chamber, for a Book* made against Stage Plays, wherein his Adversaries accused him of writing against the Queen's Majesty for dancing in a Mask. But he answered, that his Book was made before the Queen came into the Land: yet he was fined 5000$^{l.}$, his Ears to be cut off, to be degraded, and to suffer perpetuall Imprisonment.

[1634] 1634. Some 2 Miles from Wetnall a Woman killed her own Daughter, &, by the Help of her Son, buried her in a Pit.

June 14. The Widdow Morrey, a Woman of an ill Name formerly, was found killed in an upper Room of her House, & laid under a Turnell, with 3 Flitches of Bacon upon it. Her own Son Phillip Morrey, was vehemently suspected, & shrewdly questioned at Chester Assise about it, being arraigned at the Bar: but he was quitted by the Judge, how justly God only knows.

In Beeston a poor Man had stoln a Jerkin of a Weaver's Shuttle from one Ric: Baily, was followed & accused of the Theft: but he denyed it, & curst himself upon his Knees if he had done it. The Lord struck him suddenly, according to his own Execration, & he there dyed presently.

About this Time a Woman in Chester, going upon the Walls to get Plums on the Lord's Day, fell down & brake her Neck.

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* "*Histrio-matix. A Scourge of Stage Players.* 1632." The Inns of Court, in detestation of Prynne's book, prepared a Masque to which the King and Queen were invited on 2 Feb., 1634. Prynne was sentenced in the Star Chamber on 17 Feb., 1634.

One Phillip Cappur of Clutton being at a Bear bait in Carden, dy'd suddenly at that disordered Sport. [1634]

When the Woman before mentioned, who killed her Daur. was accused, together with her Son, there was so great a Blast of Wind,* that the Judges durst not sit on the Bench, on Yosonon [*sic*, but ?] a Tyle was blown of the House, hitt the Sheriff's Horse, & struck him down under him, as hee went to bring the Woman to Execution. Much Hurt was done by it in many Places. The Report then was, that this Woman was a Witch, & that by the Devill's Means, she raised this Tempest: for it rose suddenly, & was suddenly abated.

This Year in Jan: and Febr: was exceeding great Frost & Snow & grievous Tempests, so that many lost their Lives.† [1634-5]

M^is^ Venables, Sister to the Baron of Kinderton, a religious Gentlewoman, as she was travelling with some of her Servants, was benighted, & so weather-beaten and masered‡ with the Snow (the Way also being obstructed with Drifts,) that they were in Danger to be starved to Death. Addressing themselves to God by Prayer they met with a Farmer, who took them to his own House, where they lodged that Night.

A Multitude of People being set under the Church Yard Wall, of the South Side of the Church in Bunbury, at the Time of their Wakes, to see a Bearbait, the Wall suddenly fell down upon them, yet they were not hurt. They had the same Disorder the Year following & there happened the same Disaster, & the same Deliverance. Oh! the great Patience of Almighty God! §

1635. One John Kerry going to Manchester, being in an Ale- [1635]

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* Sir Wm. Pelham writing to Edward Viscount Conway, May 16, 1634, speaking of the discovery of witches in Lancashire, says, "It is suspected that they had a hand in raising the great storm wherein his Majesty was in so great danger at sea in Scotland." (*Cal. Stat. Pap. Dom. S.* 1631-5, p. 26.)

† Severity of the weather was general. On Jan. 28, 1634-5, "the snow is so great that no man can travel." (*Cal. State Pap. D.S.*, p. 476.) Thames was frozen over.

‡ *masered* is a dialect word still in use in South Cheshire. It is pronounced "*ma'zered*," or more frequently, "*mazed*," and means stupefied, stunned, or confused.

§ "He seems to have a more than ordinary Spite against Wakes & Bear baitings. Hudibras was equally ferocious & implacable against them." (*Cole.*)

[1635] house with his Companions drinking, the Hostess denyed to give him any more. Hee swore he would drink 10 Dozen that Night: so he went out of that Alehouse (far in the Night) to another, not far off, but falling into a Pitt by the Way Side, hee was drownd.

One Collie's Wife in Audelm Parish, having some Writing of Consequence taken out of her Coffer, prayd in a Rage, that the Hands that had taken it might rott off: thinking her Daur in Law had taken it. Her Daur in Law said Amen to it: who indeed had opened the Coffer, & directed a little Boy of her's to take it: but within a While after, the poor Child began to have sore Hands, which could not be cured, but rotted off by Degrees, according to her fearfull Execration.

Sept: 8. Dec. 17. [*Sic.*] One Coughen, a Taylor, a debauched man, slew one Tho: Shenton, who was then Constable of Stoke in Acton, who being sent for to apprehend Coughen, who was brabling* & disordered: & he, out of Civility, took him not to the Stocks, but to his own House, & shut him up in his Parlor; but the Villain, continuing his Disorders, brake the Door; & as Shenton was coming in upon him to p'suade him to be quiet, he stabbed him mortally in 3 Places. As soon as he had done this he offered to do the Like to another Neighbour, one John Stockton; but he proved too strong, & broke his Knife.

Dec: 29. One Hatton, a Servant to the Baron of Kinderton, a lewd & wicked Man, who kept a Whore publickly, tho' a married Man, having been at Sanbich, [Sandbach] & drunk with that head-strong Ale, as he returned homeward, was drown'd in a little Ditch, where was scarce Water enough to run over his Head.

[1636] 1636. In April, a Man of M^r^. Dod's of Edge, in Malpas Parish, being at a Bearbait, & staying at an Alehouse till late at Night, & then being drunk, & going forth of Doors, fell into a Ditch hard by, & there was drown'd.

One Ric: Betteley of Spurstow was suddenly slain by a Fall off a running Horse, near Beeston-Wood, being drunk.

A Woman living in Aston Green, by the Instigation of the

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* Brabling; that is, quarrelling or squabbling.

Devill, drown'd her Child in Weever, which was, by the Violence of the River, carried down to Minshall Mill, and there caught in the Wyll [wheel]. *Quis talia fando temperet a Lachrymis?* [1636]

1637. Mr. Pryn, Mr. Burton & Mr. Bastwick were censured in the Star Chamber to loose their Ears*: and many in Chester were complained of for coming to visit Mr. Pryn, & having Conference with him, as he past thro' the City.† [1637]

One Ralph Leech, being a notorious Whoremaster, was met by the Devill in the Likenesse of a Woman in the Night Time, who offered to kiss him, & then drew him towards a Pit in a Feild near Woodhey; whereupon he was much affrighted, fell sick, & languish'd a long Time. Oh! that Whoremasters would at last take Warning!

1638. On May Day, a Maid Servant going to a May Game in Peckforten, where she, with others, spent her Time in Dancing as shee came homeward was struck suddenly, so that she could not go, but was carried Home by 2 men, and the next Day dyed. [1638]

The Plague broke out in London, Cambridge, and Worcester: Variety of Judgments were upon us, & Variety of Mercy: for there was Abundance of Corn of all Sorts, most comfortable Seasons both to sow & reap in, so that it may well be called, *Annus plene fertilissimus.* Ps. 65.11.

This Year great Dissention grew between the King, & his Subjects of Scotland: the Occasion was, his sending to them, & urging upon them The Book of Common Prayer, and Administra-

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* The sentence of the Star Chamber on these three pamphleteers (14 June, 1637) was that they should lose their ears, be fined £5,000 apiece, and be imprisoned for life. Prynne argued in *A Divine Tragedy lately acted* (1636), that the prevailing sin of Sabbath-breaking was the outcome of the King's *Declaration of Sports.* Burton had published in 1636 two sermons *For God and the King*, in which he attacked church ceremonies; and in 1633 and 1637 Bastwick had written books against Bishops, priests, and deacons.

† These were, Peter Ince, stationer; Peter Leigh, grocer; Richard Golborne, gent.; and Calvin Bruen. They were arrested, and were summoned to appear before the High Commission at York; were fined; and afterwards, they petitioned the House of Commons for compensation. (Tracts, 1641, *penes me.*)

[1638] tion of the Sacraments, wherein they disliked many Things, & at last gave an utter Denyal to receive & use it. Upon which Refusall, the King being exasperated, sent straighter Comands to them; whereupon they grew to a Resolution to fortify themselves; & after invaded England. Here (so far as I can understand) was the first Rise of that unhappy War, that continued so long amongst us: & the B^ps of England (especially Laud A^Bp. of Canterbury) were (not without Cause) thought to have a cheif Hand in it.*

[1639] 1639. This Year great Preparation was made against the Scots. The King in his own Person went to York, in the Begining of the Spring, with a great Company of Souldiers, & daily from all Parts of the Kingdome Men were presst, and sent after him.

In the mean While the Scots had Intelligence that preparation was made against them, & fortified themselves exceedingly. But the Lord, who is the God of Peace, heard the Prayers of his poor People in both Kingdomes at this Time, & prevented a bloody War which had like to have ensued. For the King was graciously pleased to accept the Scots Petition, & to grant them a Parliament, which (as the Report then was) had ended their Greivances, by restrayning, if not quelling the Power of their B^ps whose Revenues, either in Whole, or in Part, were given to the King's second Son, James Duke of York.

In July one Lawrence Smith of Peckforton, a proud & profane Man, & a Hater of good Men, especially Mr. Hind, having been at an Alehouse near Malpas, & staying late till he was drunk, as he was riding towards Malpas after a Brother in Law, one Bartington, he fell off his Horse, and dasht out his Brains on a Stepping Stone.

July 26. One Roger Hughes of Bunbury, as he was seeing others bowl on Haughton Green, was suddenly Smitten by the Hand of God, fell down suddenly in the Sight of many Persons, & being carry'd Home, died that Night. This Man had a good Estate in Money, which he encreast by Usury, but would never

* "So it was vilely propagated by such Persons as this. Both Laud "& the King were too worthy & good for such an hypocritical Age as they "lived in. The real cause was a latent Calvinistical & Republican "Spirit, that had been brooding for near a Century & now burst forth "with its usual Violence." (*Cole.*)

be brought to make his Will, & so dy'd intestate: his Wife's Relations sued one another about the Estate. [1639]

1640. This Year Apr: 13. The King called a Parliament beyond the Expectation of most of his Subjects. Wee had none for the Space of eleven Years before: the cheef Cause (as was then said) was to have Subsidies to maintain Warr against the Scots, who now again began to stirr. [1640]

The Parliament was dissolved suddenly & unexpectedly dissolved,* & in great Displeasure on all Hands. The King demanded Subsidies: the Comons desired to have their Greivances redressed, which were many, before they would yeald to give Subsidies. Soon after this, the King sent for the Lord Mayor of London†, & demanded to borrow of the City 200 Thousand Pound, which the Lord Mayor not yeilding to, because, (as he said) the City was poor, the King took his Sword from him: but by the Mediation of the Lord Chamberlain, it was sent after him ere he came to London.

The King imprisoned 4 Aldermen‡ for refusing to give him Intelligence, who were of best Ability to lend him Money: which was so ill taken, that the Apprentices made an Insurrection, pull'd down the Prisons, & set the Prisoners at Liberty: they assaulted Lambeth, threatened to kill the A^Bp. of Canterbury, the B^p. of Elye, the Lord Wentworth Deputy of Ireland, & the Queen Mother §, who not long before was come out of

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* Parliament dissolved on 5 May, 1640.

† Garway, Lord Mayor. This was on May 7th.

‡ Their names were Soames, Rainton, Geere, and Adkins. Date, May 10th. Loans of Privy Seal were raised by letters addressed to men of property under the King's private seal, demanding sums of money for the King's use; and promising repayment out of the Exchequer.

§ Marie de Medicis, widow of Henry IV., having been exiled from France and invited to England by her daughter, the queen of Charles I., landed at Harwich on Oct. 29, 1638, came to London on Oct. 31, and so on to St. James', where she lived on the bounty of King Charles. By the King's command, the Lord Mayor and citizens received her with honour, though she was unpopular amongst them; for they dreaded her papist attendants, and said plague, war, or famine always followed her. The Cheapside-view of the *Entrée Royalle*, from a folio of 1639, has been reproduced in Harrison's *Description of England*, issued by the New Skakspere Society. 1878.

[1640] France into England, because these Persons especially were thought to do ill Offices to the King against the Kingdom.*

Now again great Preparations were made every where against the Scots, who had again incensed the King; so that the War hastened on apace in both Kingdoms: the sad Effects whereof the Subjects quickly felt in a lamentable Manner, & these especially as pray'd & practis'd for Peace, who were made a Prey to proud & plundering Souldiers.

The Souldiers flockt apace from all Parts of the Kingdom towards Scotland, & in the going thither, comitted many Outrages in every Place (almost) whither they came; pilfring & stealing what they could get; robbing Men by the Highwaies; killing some of their Captains; pulling down Houses, & ravishing Women.†

A Minister riding near London, with his Wife behind him, was pull'd off his Horse, bound Hand & Foot, & his Wife ravished by divers of the Souldiers before his Face. *O Scelus nefandum! facinus horrendum!*

In July was great Thunder & Lightning in Cheshire. One Burst of Thunder was more terrible than all the Rest, & one Flash of Lightning did set on Fire their Clothes, burnt their Faces. A Woman having a glass of Ale in her Hand, & reddy to drink it, the Lightning emptied the Ale out of the Glass, yet broke it not, nor hurt the Woman, but left a horrible Stink of Brimstone behind it.

A Convocation was held of B$^{ps}$. & other Divines, sumoned first by the King's Writ,‡ when the Parliament was called, & continued when the Parliament was dissolved by another Writ. They made 17 Canons or Ecclesiasticall Constitutions, some against Papists, some against Socinians, Sectaries & Schismaticks, & others for other Matters, with an Oath to be imposed on all Ministers & School Masters, to establish the present Doctrine

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* "By this, & the foregoing Paragraph, we may see what Lyes the Puritan Ministers propagated among the People, in order to tumultuate them against the King & the Church." (*Cole.*)

† I can find no proof of either violence or outrage among the Soldiers.

‡ May, 1640.

and Discipline of the Church of England, as then it stood, & also [1640]
the Order & Jurisdiction of A^Bps., & B^ps. Archdeacons, Deans *et cætera;* which *et cætera* was much talkt of; because a Man must swear to he knew not what. Many took it, & many refused it, tho' otherwaise conformable Men,* but within a while it was condemned by the Parliament.

July 18. A publick Fast was solemnized thro' the Land by the King's Proclamation, for the turning away of the Plague, then begun in London, & the preventing the Sword & other Judgments hovering over our Heads.

In Whitchurch a Servant of John Curbichley, a Tanner, having been drinking 2 or 3 Daies together; his Master came to fetch him Home, & blaming him for his debauched Courses, the Fellow dyed suddenly of this drunken Fit.

Aug. 4. was terrible Thunder, much Rain with it, & Hail Stones found in some Places 3 or 4 Inches about.

Aug: 27.† being Thursday, the Scots invaded the Land, came with an Army of 30,000 Foot & 3000 Horse, & pitched their Tents on a Hill, over against Sir Tho: Tempest his House in Northumberland, & sent a Drumer with 2 Letters to Newcastle upon Thyne, the one directed to the Mayor, the other to the Comander in cheif; which Sir Jacob Ashley the Governor returned without opening them. That Night 1500 Horse, 3000 Foot of the English watched the River, lest the Scots should pass it. On Friday they continued defending the River, a 1000 of the Foot in Trenches, close to the River, the rest on the Bankside. The English Horse stood in a Meadow of Sir Tho: Tempest's, in 8 Squadrons near to the Trenches. The Scots came down the Hill to Newburn within Musket Shot of our Trenches. About Noon, one of the English in a blew Coat shot a Scotch Comander on the other Side the Water, & kild him: whereupon the Scotch gave the English a Volley of Shot; thus it continued till 4 of the Clock in the Afternoon, when the Scots playing fiercely with their Ordi-

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* "One may give a tolerable Guess at who these otherwaies conformable men were." (*Cole.*)

† The detailed account of the Battle of Newburn here given, is particularly interesting. Burghall most likely obtained the information from some published account.

[1640] nances upon our uppermost Trenches, at the first Shot kild 7 of our Men: after some few Shots more, our Men were forct to leave their Trenches, & in their Flight the Cannon made *Scale** among them; whereupon the Scots Horse got thorow the Water, & pursued the Foot: then our Horse went to releeve them; but the Thundering of the Canon made them retreat: The Scots pursued up the Hill a Mile, took Comissary Wilmot, Sir John Digby kild Serjeant Major O Neal, and Sir John Suckling's Lieutenant Endymion Porter's Son was slain at the first Onset. The Scots got 1500 Arms, killd 100 of our Men, others say more, & lost, as it was thought, as many more. Next Day they sent to Newcastle a Trumpet & 21 Troops of Horse, & enforct the Mayor to open the Gates.

There dyed of the plague† in London towards the latter End of Sumer, 1000 some Weeks, & some Weeks 1200 or more; So that God this Year punished the Land with 3 of his sore Judgments, Sword, Plague, & unseasonable Weather, which threatened Famine.

Upon the Occasion of the Invasion of the Scotts, a Parley was held at York‡ by the King and his Nobles, and upon Petition to the King by divers Lords well affected, for a Parliament, it was granted there should be one; which was fulfilld accordingly. It began Nov. 3. Many excellent Speeches were made at first with Boldness & Freedom.

The Lord Deputy of Ireland was questioned for Treason, & many other Misdemeanors: also Sir George Ratcliffe, Dr. Cosins, & other Episcopall Men for Innovations, & other illegal Proceedings.

One M$^{r}$. Heywood, a Justice of Peace in Westminster, was stab'd by a Papist, as he went to present a Catalogue of Papists to the House.§

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* "*Scale*," a dialect word in South Cheshire, meaning "*to graze the top of*."

† London was seldom free from plague; owing to overcrowded houses, and want of cleanliness in the streets. There was great mortality in 1625 and 1630.

‡ At the Deanery at York, on 24 Sept. 1640.

§ This attempted assassination occurred at Westminster Hall, on Nov. 23, 1640. The assailant, Mr. James, was believed to have been a lunatic.

Mr. Pryn, Mr. Burton & Dr. Bastwick were sent for from [1640]
Banishment, & had the Liberty to petition the House, & were fetcht in with a great Concourse of People.*

A publick Fast was solemnized through the Kingdom Dec. 8, and not without Cause: for our Divisions grew very high, & threatened great Misery and Mischief to the Nation.

1641. This Year the ABp. of Canterbury was accused of [1641]
High Treason in many Particulars, found guilty, & suffred.†

The Deputy of Ireland [Strafford] was in Examination 3 Weeks, or more. The House of Lords favour'd him: the House of Comons were sore against him: so that in April a hot Contention & Jar had like to befal'n them because of him: at last he was condemn'd, & beheaded on Tower Hill May 12.

The Bps. were petitioned against from many Countryes;‡ some

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* The Demonstration in London on the arrival of Prynne and Burton was on 28 Nov. There was another on 4 Dec. when Bastwick arrived. The Commons voted them compensation on 2 March, 1641.

† Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was impeached 24 Feb., 1641; he was sent to the Tower on March 1st; but he was not executed until Jan. 10, 1645.

‡ The word "*countries*" is used in the provincial sense of "*district.*" Burghall means that petitions were got up in many parts of the country against the Bishops; but he does not say a petition was sent to Parliament from Cheshire. In fact, Sir Thos. Aston, Bart., got up a Petition in favour of Episcopacy, which was printed in 1641 with letters and extracts from two sermons by Sam. Eaton; and in this county no counter petition in favour of Presbyterianism was drawn up. A copy purporting to be a Cheshire anti-episcopal petition, very numerously signed on the margin (which has been printed in *Nonconformity in Cheshire*, 1864, p. xiv.) is still preserved amongst the State Papers at the Record Office; but it has been proved to be a forgery (Gardiner's History of England, vol. ix. p. 380); and the silence of Burghall on the matter is in favour, too, that no such petition ever existed, or he would most likely have signed it; and, if not, he would certainly have mentioned the fact of such a petition having been prepared for Cheshire.

The petitions alluded to by Burghall were those presented to the House of Commons in Jan. 1641-2 from Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and from Sir Robert Harley signed by a thousand ministers.

But if no petition was drawn up, there was much preaching against the Bishops in Cheshire in this same year. A letter dated Aug. 6, 1641,

[1641] of them severely proceeded against*, & at last quite extirpated.

Some Judges also were accused of Treason, others of Capital Offences. The Ship-Money was the great Matter that was laid to the Charge of most of them.

Sept: 7 was a publick Thanksgiving through the Land, by Act of Parliament, for the happy Peace concluded between us & the Scots, the Armies being now disbanded on both Sides.

Oct. 23. a damnable Plot was design'd to be put in Execution by the bloody Papists in Ireland, who had design'd the said Day to have murthered the Lord Chief Justices, & the Rest of the Councel, to have seized on all the King's Forts, Castles & Holds in the Kingdom of Ireland, to have slain all the Protestants, & utterly to have rooted out the English from among them: but it pleased the Lord to discover it the very Night before it should have been put in Execution: so that Dublin, the cheif City, was preserved & many other Places in the Kingdom;† yet the Insurrection was very great & generall: the Cruelties and Outrages of the Rebells were unparrelled, in burning Houses, killing, robbing, spoiling, stripping naked, drowning, & destroying the poor Protestants. Therefore a publick Fast was comanded to be kept the last Wednesday in every Month. Forces were sent out of

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from Thos. Moreton to Sir Thos. Smith says:—"The greatest news we have is that all our country churches are full of exercises for thanksgiving (this is the word of art), but all these sermons are against the Bishops and their government. Last week there was one at Little Budworth, this week at Barrow and Thornton, next week at Tarvin, &c. The New England Mr. [Samuel] Eaton and Mr. Holford preached at Barrow this week; but Eaton was modest in comparison of Holford, who railed most damnably against all church government as it is established." (*Cal. Stat. Pap. D. S.* 1641-3, p. 77.)

* In Dec. 1641 ten out of the following Bishops were impeached for treason and sent to the Tower, namely, York, Durham, Coventry & Lichfield, Norwich, Asaph, Bath & Wells, Hereford, Oxon., Ely, Gloucester, Peterboro and Llandaff, (Vicars, *God in the Mount*, p. 60.)

† The plot to seize Dublin was betrayed 22 Oct. 1641; appalling outrages were committed in Novr. On Dec. 17, 1641, 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse were (part of them) ready at Chester to be transported to Ireland. (*Cal. Stat. Pap. D.S.*, p. 205.)

England against the Rebels in Ireland: but the Wind stood contrary a long Time, so that neither Horse nor Foot could pass over; which gave the Rebels great Advantage.* [1641]

Great Dissentions grew between the King & the House of Comons concerning many Matters, but especially a Remonstrance † set out by the House, shewing the State of the Kingdom, the Maledies both of Church & State, with the Causes of them; for which the King was much displeased, & caused an Answer to be printed. He came also to the House, and accused 5 of their Members of Treason,‡ viz., Pym, Hollis, Hamden, Haselrig, and Strode, & of the House of Lords, the Lord Kimbolton.

1642. Sir John Hotham being sent by the Parliament to Kingston upon Hull, to govern the Town,§ & denying Entrance to the King, who came thither with 400 Horse, & demanded it from him, was by the King proclaymed Traytor, complained of to the Parliament, who justified his Deniall, & gave Order for the putting of the Kingdom into a Posture of Warr. [1642]

Good News came out of Ireland of many Defeats given to the Rebels in March, April, & May, tho' intermixed with the Loss of some Noble Comanders, as Simon Harcourt,‖ Sir Charles Coot.

One Eliz. Hill of Peckforton, having receaved the Sacrament on Good Friday, went to an Alehouse in the Afternoon, & there was drunk, & staying late, as she was going Home, shee fell, & broke her Head upon a Stone, was carried back to the Alehouse, and dyed next Day.

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* "I question whether he will call the Scotch Rebels, tho' they invaded the Kingdom: let the Irish mean as ill as pleased, & as he would persuade us, they could not be greater Rebels than the Scotch." (*Cole.*)

† The Great Remonstrance was passed on 22 Nov. 1641, by a majority of eleven; 159 Ayes, and 148 Noes.

‡ 5 Jan. 1641-2.

§ Hotham entered Hull 23 Apl. 1642. Both Sir John, and his son Captn. Hotham, were afterwards beheaded on Tower Hill, on 2 Jan. 1644-5.

‖ Sir Simon Harcourt was slain on 25 March 1642 in storming a fort near Dublin. ? the death of Sir Charles Coote.

[1642] A Comission of Array was granted by the King,* then at York, to many Lords, Knights, & Gentlemen, throughout the Kingdom, & was now put in Execution here in Cheshire, as in other Countries; but declared to be illegall by the Parliament, & so opposed: the Militia of the Kingdom being exercised in each County by the Lieutenants, & Deputy Lieutenants, appointed by the Parliament so far as their Power could then extend.

Upon this Occasion it was, that there was one slain,† & many hurt in Manchester: for the Lord Strange being put out by the Parliament, but again restored by the King to be Lieutenant of Cheshire & Lancashire, having been training with 400 Men (as the Report then was) was invited by some in the Town to a Feast; but ere it was done, one Captain Holcroft, & Capt. Birch with their Companyes, struck up a Drum, and ordered Souldiers, that they had in the Town, in Battle array: whereupon 50 Horse of the Lord Strange's made Head against them, and over matcht them.

About this Time the King beseiged Hull; but Sir John Hotham puld up the Sluices, & so, with the Inundation of the Water, made him & his Forces retire.

In Somersetshire 20 Men, or thereabouts were, some of them wounded, others slain, by the Forces of the Comissioners of Array: whereupon, the Country rising, pursued the Comissioners to Wells, whither they had taken a Captain: & some, imployed by the Parliament, demanded them, with those also, that had shed Blood.‡

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* The Commissions issued by Parliament preceded the King's Commission of Array by several weeks. (Cf. Introduction.)

† Richard Percival, of Kirkman's Hulme, linen webster, said to be the first person whose blood was shed in the war. He was buried at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on July 18, 1642.

‡ See Appendix A.

# MALBON'S MEMORIAL
OF THE
# CIVIL WAR.

(Cowper MSS.)

**A breefe & true Relacon of all suche passages & things as happened & weire donne in and aboute NAMPTWICH in the Countie of CHESTER & in other plac'[es] of the same Countie. Togeither w^th^ some other things in other COUNTIES (not farr distant) acted and donne by some of the Com'ander^s^ officers & Soldiers of the said Towne of NAMPTWICH (after the same was made a GARRISON for KINGE & PARLIAM^T^,)[1] scythens [since] the x^th^ of August 1642. Soe trulie as the wryter hereof cold [could] come by the knowledge of the same, viz.:—**

*Com'issioners of Arrey & Com'issioners for the Milicia.*

Uppon or about the Eleaventh of August 1642 S^r^. will'm. Brereton, & the Deputie Lieften^te^ for the said Countie of Chester (beinge Com'issione^rs^ for the Mylicia) w^th^ some Considerable strength for the setlinge of the Mylicia, as was intended (on the Parliam^ts^ behalfe) came to Namptwiche. And the Commision^rs^ of Arraye, on the Kings behalfe [1642]

[1] This expression, "*for King and Parliament*," which often occurs during the first Civil War, meant that Parliament defended the Crown against the personal will and caprice of Charles Stuart; and that while Parliament was in favour of the *Kingship*, it was opposed to the individual authority of Charles. The *Third Remonstrance*, dated 26 May, 1642, says:—"The levying of war against the King, that is, against his laws and authority, though not against his person, is levying war against the King; but the levying of Force against his personal commands, though accompanied with his presence, and not against his laws and authority, but in the maintenance thereof, is no levying of war against the King, but for him." (Husband's *Collection of Remonstrances*, &c., 1643, p. 276.) In 1642 the quarrel was between Charles and the Parliament; but after 1645 the struggle was between those who upheld the Crown and those who favoured the Commonwealth.

[1642] (hereinge thereof) came the same daye vnto Ravensmore, a myle from the said Towne, (w^th^ purpose to hinder theire p'ceedinge), Having wavered [*i.e.* waited] for many Township men both of Namptwiche Hundred, Broxton Hundred & other plac[e]s w^th^ speciall com'andem^t^ to come furnished w^th^ Armes matches[1] powder & Bullets: But to what purpose or intente the Countreymen weire most of theim altogether Ignorant. But by mediacon & meanes made vnto both p'ties (by some gents w^ch^ desyred Peace) nothinge was donne att that tyme; But agreed on both sides & soe p'mised [promised], That the People & Com'ission^rs^ in both p'ties shold dpte. [departe] home agayne peaceablie, and the Comissione^rs^ of Arraye nor theim on theire side, not to come to the Towne that day. Yett neu'thelesse the said Com'issione^rs^ of Arraye w^th^ a greate company (contrary to theire p'mise and agreem^t^) hearinge that the said S^r^ will'm. Brereton & the deputie Lieften^ts^ & theire company, weire disperced & gonne awaye, (accordinge as the same was agreed) Came in a bravado w^th^

In Cheshire, Aug: 12. there had like to have been a hot Contest between the Arrayeryes & the Militiaryes on Beam Heath; but by the Mediation of M^r^. Wilbraham of Deerfold on the one Hand, & M^r^. Werden of Chester on the other Hand, it was for that Time prevented. At this Time two of Sir Tho: Aston's Men were fearfully scorched with Gunpowder.

Sept: 21. the Lord Grandeston [Grandison] came to Nantwich with 700 Souldiers, entred the Town, disarmed it, & the Country round about. Some that came to assist the Town were taken, imprisoned, & fined. A Fine also was laid upon the Town: but few, or none paid it.*

[1] "Matches," *i.e.* coils of slow match for firing muskets.

* See Appendix B.

greate showtinge & reioycinge into the said Towne, [1642]
and theire stayed a certyn ty[me] spendinge theire
money and drinkinge merrilie w^thout offringe any of
. . . . . [1] [? offence] vnto the Towne & in the
Evenynge depted peacablie awaye.

*Lord Grandisons comynge to Namptwiche.*

Afterwards vpon wednesdaye the xx9^th of September 1642 beinge . . . . . [Michaelmas] daye The said Towne of Namptwiche, beinge firme for the P. [arliament] standinge in opposicon agaynst the Com'issione^rs of Arraye, having . . . . [? but] smale p'vision of Armes and Am'unycon and a little ayded by the C . . . . [? common] people neere adioynynge & haveing began to make some . . . .[barricades at the] streete ends for theire owne saufeties, was assaulted . . . . . [by the royalists] beinge under the Com'and of the Lord Grandison (2) . . . . Lord Cholmondeley, Hughe

Sept: 23. The King came to Chester*, with his Forces, where Sir Ric: Wilbraham, Sir Tho: Delves, M^r. Mainwaring of Peover, & M^r. Wilbraham of Deerfold were comanded to attend the King's pleasure, by the Sheriffe, who had Charge of them. From

[1] At the bottom of the first page of the original, the MS. is slightly torn; and thus a few words indicated by the dotted lines, cannot be seen, but it is easy to supply these deficiencies. With this exception the MS. is in excellent preservation.

[2] Lord Grandison, Lieut.-General of the 6th Regt. 1or the King, was William Villiers, viscount Grandison in the peerage of Ireland, son and heir of Sir Edward Villiers, President of Munster, and brother to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. He died at Oxford on the 29th Sept. 1643, from wounds received at the siege of Bristol on the 26th July of the same year. His daughter, the celebrated Barbara Villiers, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, erected a stately monument to his memory in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. (Army Lists, Edwd. Peacock, F.S.A., 1863, p. 13.)

* To join with 5,000 foot and 400 horse, which had been raised in Wales and the Borders. (*Cal. Stat. Pap.*, Dom. Series, 1641-3, p. 389.)

[1642] Calveley, Esqre, Heighe Sher.[riff] . . of the said countie of Chester and about xiij Troups (1) of Trowpe[rs] & Dragoneers amountinge in all to xj hundred horse or more & many other gent., Came vnto the said Towne, to the Aspell Streete End, (where the Chayne was drawen ouer the streete ende) and some fewe of the said Towne w[th] musketts & other weapons weire placed theire sufficient for a tyme to haue opposed them & kepte theim furthe. But consideringe that then the Kinge being att Shrowesbury w[th] great forces And by reason of the feare [*i.e.* fair] speeches & p'mises [promises] of the said Lorde not to Wronge the said Towne noe [nor] doe theim any harme, the Chayne was withdrawn [&] the said Lorde, Sheryff & whole Army, peaceablie vpon theire said p'mises, entered the said Towne. But p'sentlie vpon theire entrance (contrary to theire words and p'misses) they disarmed eu'y [every] man and tooke all theire Armes & Armor from theim & all that colde bee found in eu'y howse, threatninge that whoesoeu'[er] had any Arms and did not bringe theim In, shold bee plundred. And

Chester he went to Shrewsbury, where they attended about 5 Weeks in Hope of being dismist: but Sir Ric: Wilbraham & Mr. Wilbraham of Deerfeild were kept Prisoners there a long Time, & Sir Richard dyed a prisoner there.*

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[1] Cavalry were organised in Troops of 100 or 120; each Troop having 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Cornet, 3 Corporals, 2 Trumpeters.

Dragooners were mounted Infantry, They rode in march; but fought on foot. A troop was 132 strong; which allowed one horse-holder to each eleven horses; and therefore numbered 120 fighting men.

* From Shrewsbury the King went to Bridgnorth; and from thence to Northampton and Warwick, which kept him out; and from thence to Banbury. (*Cole.*)

seu'all dayes followinge the[y] yssued furthe (many of theim) And took all the Armes from Woodhey, dodington, Haslington, Baddeley and many other places. And plundered many Countrey howses & tooke many horses. And after they had had free quarter in Namptwiche vntill Mondaye then nexte followinge. They depted. [departed] away w^th^ all they had gotten from thence, and wente to the Kinge and Prince to Shrowesbury. But the Kinge & Prince beinge att that instant att Chester & havinge intelligence of theire cominge to Shrowesbury wente thither to theim. [1642]

*Edge Hill Battell.* Vpon Sondaye beinge the xxiij^th^ of October 1642 his Mat^ie^ & his Army And the Parliam^t^ forces mett togeither att Edge Hill neere Banbury; wheare theire was foughte a greate & bloddye Battell many slayne and taken p^r^sone^rs^ on bothe sides; to the nu'[m]ber of Tenne thowsand [1] (as was supposed). But the Parliam^t^ side had the daye,

And now both Sides being prepared for Fight, Oct: 23. being the Lord's Day, a cruell Battle was fought between the King's Forces, & the Earl of Essex, Generall for the Parliament, at a Place called Edge Hill, near to Kenton Moor, & not far from Banbury. Many were slain on both Sides, but how many I could not tell, Reports were so various: but on the King's Side, the Earl of Lindsey, Generall of his Army, & the Lord Willoughby his Son, at this Battle lost their Lives, Colonel Vavasor* [Vavasour], Col: Lunsford, & many others were taken Prisoners. About

[1] Numbers, overestimated; victory, misrepresented. About 5,000 or 6,000 killed on both sides; battle indecisive.

* Col. William Vavasour commanded the Royal Foot Guards under Lord Willoughby. He was imprisoned at Warwick, and Windsor; but, escaping, he afterwards became commander of the counties of Gloucester and Hereford.

[1642] & kepte the field. The Kinges gen'[er]all was[1] slayne; & his Sonne, the *Lord willoughbie,*[2] *S^r Edward Stradling,*[3] *Colonell Lunsfford*[3] and others taken p^rsone^rs; The Kinges Ryall standerd berer [Sir Edmund Verney] slayne & his Standerd beaten downe & taken. But throwe the treachery of some ytt was restored agayne; many of the Kinges force fledd & the rest absolutelie Rowted.

this Time, as I take, was a Skirmish at, or about Worcester,* some slain, others wounded.

At Branford, [Brentford]† when they were about a Treaty of Peace, Prince Rupert came with his Forces upon Col: Hollis's Regiment, & slew many of them; but when the Parliament sent more Forces, they retreated.

After this, there were many Skirmishes. Redding was taken by the King's Forces: Marlborow, Winchester & Chichester by the Parliament.

In Yorkshire was great Contention between the Earle of Newcastle & Lord Savile, for the King, & the Lord Fairfax & Sir John Hotham for the Parliament. Many were slain on both Sides: but the King's Party prevailed very much, till the Scots were called to assist the Parliament.

Also in Lancashire was hot Work between the Earle of Darby, & Manchester, which stifly stood out, & won many Places: & the Earle of Darby being driven into the Isle of Man, Lancashire was quieted by the Gentlemen of the Militia.

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[1] Robert Bertie, 10th Baron Willoughby de Eresby; created Earl of Lindsey 22nd Nov. 1626; Lord Great Chamberlain; K.G.; Lord High Admiral in 1636; Governor of Berwick 1639. He was buried at Edenham, co. Lincoln, being aged 60 years. (See Allen's *Hist. Lincolnshire*, vol. ii., p. 295.)

[2] Lord Montague Bertie Willoughby was present at the burial of King Charles at Windsor; and himself died a natural death in 1666.

[3] Sir E. Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorganshire. Col. Sir Thomas Lunsford, who, report said, ate little children.

* At Powick on Friday, 23 Sept. 1642; when Rupert surprised Col. Nathaniel Fiennes, and routed him.

† On 15 Novr. 1642, Holles' Regiment was nearly annihilated: but Hampden and Lord Brooke's soldiers fought with bravery.

*Earle of Derbies cominge into Cheshire.*

About the begynynge of December 1642 The *Earle of Darbie*[1] (beinge on the king's p'tie) assisted w^th^ some men and horse, (w^th^ the *Lord Cholmondeley*) entered Cheshire intendinge to have plundered *m^r^ maynwarings*[2] of Caryncham & some other of the Deputie Lieftent^s^, Commission^rs^ for the milicia, & to haue seazed vpon some Parliam^t^ Carryages[3] w^ch^ weire cominge into Cheshire, (but they miste [missed] of theire purposes); ffor *M^r^ Maynwaringe* & the reste haveing intelligence theirof Raysed the Countrey, w^ch^ the Kings p'tie p'ceaving fledd; The *Lord of Darbie* came by backe wayes into Lancashire, w^th^ his company beinge about twoe hundred. But xxiiij of the said *Lord Cholm[onde]leys* men & horse, comynge to Northwiche, weire taken theire, theire Armes & horses beinge taken from theim, & theire men sente home on foote. [1642]

*Colonell Leigh*[4] of Adlington (on the Kings p'te) w^th^ a considerable force p'sentlie afterwards entered Macclesfield in the said countie of Chester. But the said Mr. Maynwarynge w^th^ assistance of the Countrey did dryve him thence, & hee, disgysed in a Soldye^rs^ habit, escaped; But his Drummer & more of those of his soldyers weire theire slayne . . . . . afterwards Manchester forces comynge in to Mr. . . . . . [? Maynwaringe's] Ayde & hee growinge stronge to the N'[m]ber of . . . . fyve thousand horse

[1] James Stanley, Earl of Derby, born 31st Jan., 1606; succeeded his father, William, as seventh Earl Derby in 1642; having previously been summoned to Parliament, as Lord Strange. He was executed at Bolton, 15th Oct., 1651. (See *postea.*)

[2] Colonel Edward Mainwaring, of Kirmincham Hall, Cheshire.

[3] Carriage, *i.e.*, baggage.

[4] Colonel Thomas Legh, of Adlington, Cheshire.

[1642] and foote. The Com'issioner^s^ of Array hearinge thereof All fledd w^th^ theire goods, some into Chester Citie, some into Shrowesbury, some one waye & some another; And soe alsoe did all Parsons, viccars & other^s^ w^ch^ took p'te w^th^ the Array p'tie; not one cold bee mett w^th^all. The said Mr. Maynwaringe did take (w^th^ his company) from Colonell Leighes howse, Armes for one hundred & twentie men: and from Wrynehill Hall,[1] old Armes for as many.

*Maynwaringe his forces comynge to Namptwiche.*

Vpon the x^th^ of December 1642, & begynnyinge of the nexte weeke after, a great p'te of the said *Mr. Maynwarings* force & a brave troupe of Manchester horse & men, came all to Namptwiche, w^th^ Captyns Lieftent^s^, and Com'ander^s^, bringing w^th^ theim Three smale peeces of Ordnance, well mounted, w^ch^ weire placed att seu'all streete ends theire. And the Captyns & Souldye^rs^, to the nu'[m]ber of one thowsand trayned eu'y daye, and behaved theim selves very well & honestlie, payinge in all theire quarte^rs^ what the[y] boughte or agreede for.

*Peace concluded.*

The Com'issioner^s^ of Arraye, viz., *Earle Ryvers*;[2] & his brother, *m^r^ Thomas Sav-*

Coll: Hastings* was call'd into Cheshire to assist the Array against the Deputy Lieutenants of the Militia, which were at Namptwich with a competent Number: but a Kind of Peace was agreed upon betwixt them, Dec: 23. which was afterwards disliked by the Parliament. The Souldiers of Coll: Hastings did much Hurt by plundering.

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[1] The seat of Sir Rowland Egerton.

[2] John Viscount Savage, of Rock Savage, created Earl Rivers by Charles I.

* Col. Henry Hastings, second son of the Earl of Loughborough. He was Sheriff of Leicestershire in this year.

*age; Lord viscounte Kilmorey;*[1] *Lord Cholmondeley;* [1642]
and the rest w^ch^ weire fledd to Chester, Reased [raised] all theire force together to Chester w^th^ many Horse & foote from all theire frends & tenants in Shropshire, Cheshire, & Wales, w^th^ many threatnynge speeches to dryve theim awaye from Namptwiche; But the[y] fortifyed theim selves in Chester Citie, and durst not sturr furthe; And att lengthe, they havinge intelligence that greater Ayde wold come to theim att Namptwiche, and suspectinge that Chester wold be assaulted, They offered p'lye & mocens (?) [parley and motions] of Peace w^ch^ the gent. att Namptwiche consented vnto. There were no'iated [nominated] for the Com'ission^rs^ of Array on theire p'tie, The Lord Kilmorey & m^r^ Bridgeman: and on the other p'tie, The for[e]said m^r^ Maynwaringe and m^r^ Marbury of Marbury; And the place appoynted was att Bunbury, in the said Countie of Chester; the xxiij^th^ of December 1642, where the p'ties nominated did meete the same daye, and made an agreem^t^ as followeth, viz. :—

*An AGREEM^T^ made att BUNBURY in the COUNTIE of CHESTER for pacificacon and setlinge the PEACE of the COUNTIE by vs whose names are subscrybed aucthorized theire vnto, by the LORDS and gents COM'ISSIONE^RS^ of ARRAY & DEPUTIE LIEFTEN^TS^ in the said COUNTIE.*

*Imprimis* ytt ys agreed that theire bee an absolute cessacon of Armes from henceforthe w^th^in this Countie, & noe Armes to bee taken vp to offend one & other, but by Consente bothe of the Kinge and twoe

[1] Robert Needham, and Viscount Kilmorey, of Shavington, co. Salop.

[1642] howses of p'liam^t^ vnless ytt bee to resist force broughte into this Countie.

2.—That all (but two hundred of either side) shalbe disbanded tomorrowe beinge Saturdaye, and on Mondaye all on both sides, bothe horse and ffoote.

3.—That all p^r^son^rs^ on bothe sides bee enlarged As for m^r^ Moreton whoe ys now p'son^r^ att Manchester the gent. (appoynted Deputie Lieftent^s^) doe declare that hee was taken w^th^out theire privitie or encouragement^t^ by some Trowpe^rs^ of Manchester vpon a pryvatt quarrell for takinge powder & other goods belonginge to one of Manchester; yett they will use theire utmost endeaver to p'cure his enlargem^t^, & desyer that the lyke endeaver^s^ bee vsed by the Lords & othe^rs^ Com'issione^rs^ of Arraye for the enlarginge of m^r^ Danyell of Daresbury.

4.—That the fortificacons. att Chester, Nampt-wiche, Stockporte, Knottesforde, & Northwiche, or any other Towne in Cheshire, (latelie made by either p'tie) bee p'sentlie demollished.

5.—That all goods and Armes taken on bothe sides (nowe remaynynge in the Countie in specie) bee furthw^th^ restored, and for all other^s^ that are taken furthe of the Countie, ytt ys p'mised on bothe pts. that sythens [since] the b'nefitt of the pacificacon redounds to the whole Countie That they will vse theire vtmost endeavo^rs^ for a joynte contry-bucon of the Countie towards satisffaction of the owne^rs^.

6.—That the Lords and gents. Com'issione^rs^ of Array before the viij^th^ daye of Januarye nexte will p'cure [procure] from his Ma^tie^ a letter, thereby de-

claringe, That in regard a peace ys made in the Countie, Hee will sende noe forces into this Countie, And yf any other p'son shall contrary to suche declaracon bringe forces into this Countie (passage for forces w^th^out doinge any hostile acte onelie excepted) The said Lords & gents. will Joyne to resiste theim. And yf any forces (w^th^out the consent bothe of the Kinge & bothe howses of Parliam^t^) shall come into this Countie (a passage for forces w^th^out doinge any hostile Acte onelie excepted) The said gents. (nomynated Deputie Lieften^ts^) will resist theim & vse theire vtmost endeave^rs^ therein. [1642]

7.—In regard (that by the blessinge of God) theire ys lyke to bee a peace w^th^in the Countie (yf this agreemen^t^ bee observed) ytt ys agreed that the Com'issione^rs^ of Array shall not any further putt the Com'ission of Arraye in execucon, nor the gent. no'iated Deputie Lieftent^s^ the ordynance of the Milicia, or execute theire Com'ission.

8.—Lastlie all the said pties. doe agree and p'myse eyche [each] to other in the worde of a Gent. and as they desyer to prosper, That as well they theim selves as alsoe all theire frends, tenants, servants and all other (in whome they haue any Interest) shall as muche as in theim lyes, p'forme this agreem^t^. And ytt ys further desyred that all the said pties. Joyne in a peticon vnto his Ma^tie^ & bothe howses of p'liam^t^ for puttinge an ende to the great distracons and misery fallen vpon this kingdom, by makinge a speedy peace. And ytt is agreed that S^r^ George Bouthe & all othe^rs^ w^th^in this Countie, whoe haue appeared either as Com'ission^rs^ of Array or as Deputie Lieften^ts^ by reason of the ordinance of Parliam^t^ shall

[1642] (with all convaynyente speede) subscrybe this Agreem[t].[1]

The make[rs] of this Agreem[t] for the Com-'issione[rs] of Arraye. { My Lord of Kilmorrey. Orlando Bridgeman, Esq.

for the Lieftent[s]. { Mr.[Henry] Maynwaringe of Caryncham. Mr. Marbury of Marbury.

The next daye afterwards (being Christmas Eve) All the Companyes on bothe sides weire disbanded. The tyme the forsaid M[r] Maynwaringe & the forsaid company contynued in Namptwiche was iust a fortnighte. But this Peace did not longe contynue, but did breake on the Com'issione[rs] of Arrayes side, in that the fortificacons att Chester weire not throwne downe & the said Com'issione[rs] contyneued still in Chester encreasinge theire forces & renewinge theim daylie.

[1642-3] *Will[ia]m Brereton comynge to Namptwiche.* Vppon Saturday the xxviij[th] of January then nexte following 1642[-3] *S[r] will'm. Brereton Baronett* (Colonell and Com'ander in Chiefe of the p'liam[t] forces in these ptes.) Comynge towards Namptwiche, w[th] reasonable good strength to releave the said Towne (beinge in greate

[1] This "Agreement" for maintaining a neutrality in Cheshire is also preserved in Harl. MSS. 2135, p. 83, and endorsed on the back "*worth nothinge.*" A Tract dated Oct. 12th, 1642, mentions this proposed neutrality as Cheshire's "*faintheartednesse*" (Civil War Tracts, Cheth. Soc. Publ., p. 334). For the reply to these *Articles of Pacification* by the House of Commons, see Husband's *Remonstrances*, &c., p. 823, 7th January, 1642-3.

Another tract (*penes me*) publishes "the Reasons why the Deputy-Lieutenants, intrusted by the Parliament for Cheshire, cannot agree to the Treaty," &c.

Parliament, being determined to resist the King, issued on the 9th Jan., 1642-3, definite "Instructions" to Sir William Brereton, Bart., of Handforth, Cheshire, as one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County; by which he at once became commander of the Parliamentary forces in this County. (Printed "*Instructions*," *penes me.*)

danger to bee plundred & destroyed by the Kinges [1642-3]
Armye and Com'issione[rs] of Arraye) in this Countie
(contrary to theire p'mises & agreem[t] as aforesaid)
S[r] *Thomas Aston* w[th] about fyve hundred horse of the
Kinges forces lyinge in wayte for the said S[r] will'm.,
and meetinge w[th] him & all his carryedges & forces
hee had neere the end of the
Aspell streete att Namptwiche
betwixt & Cheerbrooke (being
more in nu'ber than the said S[r] will'm.) aboute four
a Clocke in the afternoone The[y] joyned Battell,
w[ch] contynued very sore, & doubtfull on bothe sides,
vntill about seyven a Clocke in the Nighte ytt beinge
soe darke they cold not see one the other. But S[r]
will'm. havinge a case of Drakes[2] vpon Carryage
readie charged, discharged the same vpon the Kinges
ptie., w[ch] did some execucon. & soe affrighted theim,
that they weire all scattered & quyte Rowted; And

*Sr. Thomas Aston*[1] *Rowted at Namptwiche.*

Jan: 28, was a hot Skirmish at the further End of Nantwich, between Sir W[m]. Brereton's Forces, & Sir Tho: Aston's; which was on this manner. Sir Tho: Aston intending to take the Town, came in the Evening with 200 Men, but was repulst with about 80 led by Capt: Bramhall, & in his Retreat, was set on by Sir W[m]. Brereton's Company, who took Prisoners an 100 or near upon, & kild divers: He took also 80 Horse, with Arms, Cloak Bags, & Pillage to the value of 1000[l] as was conjectured. Imediately upon this Victory, came in to

[1] Other accounts of this battle will be found in Vicars' *God in the Mount*, pp. 266-8; in a tract called *Cheshire's Successe*, printed London, 25 March, 1643; quoted in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 2nd Edit., vol. i., page lxi., Introduction; and in a letter by Sir Will. Brereton, quoted in my Hist. of Nantwich, p. 145.

Sir Thos. Aston, of Aston, Cheshire, Bart., a brave but unfortunate royalist officer, died at Stafford on 24th March, 1645-6.

[2] *Drakes* were small cannon, about 7½ft. long; sometimes called *Minion Drakes* (Hooper's *Clarendon*, p. 244).

[1642-3] tooke p'soners *Captyn Chom'ley*, (a base sonne of the Lord Chom'ley) *Captyn Bridgemann*, & of officers & Soldiers about one hundred ; And three score horse or aboue ; wth many Armes, Cloakbages, and pillage (as was thought) to the value of one thowsand pounds ; many wounded ; & some men & horse slayn ; the certyn nu'ber (beinge a very darke Nighte) cold neu' [never] bee certynlie knowne. Sr will'm. Brereton lost a Lieftent, & one Vernon,[1] and William Brereton, (beinge twoe com'on Soldyers) ; had many wounded (thoughe neither mortaly nor meamed [maimed]). And soe (God gyvinge him the victory) about viij a Clocke in the Nighte hee entered the Towne, wth great reioycinge of the inhabitaunce thereof, & the saufety of the same whoe gave & ascrybed all prayse & Glory vnto God for his greate mercyes towards theim (wth his p'soners & pillage).

*Captyns wth Companyes cominge to Namptwiche.*

On Sonday the Towne was quyett, And vpon Mondaye the xxxth of January 1642[-3], The foresaid *mr Maynwaringe* & other greate forces bravely Armed, came in Ayde of the Towne to Sr will'm. Brereton ; And the nexte weeke followinge come vnto him alsoe to Namptwiche *Captyn Duckenfield*,[2] *Captyn Hyde*,[3]

the Assistance of Sir Wm. Brereton, Coll: Mainwaring, Capt : Duckenfield, Capt: Hide, Capt : Marbury, with other Gentlemen, of their Companyes of Horse & Foot well appointed, to the Number of 2000, or thereabout ; who many Times issued out, &

[1] Nantwich Parish Register records the burial of these two soldiers, as follows:—

"1642-3 Jan. 30. Joseph Banbery, a Lieutenant.
" " Edward Varnam, a soldier."

[2] Captn. Robert Duckenfield, of Duckenfield, Esq. For a biography of this celebrated officer see Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., pp. 13-14.

[3] Capt. Edward Hyde, of Hyde, Esq., who died in 1669.

*Captyn Marbury*, & many other Captyns, and Com- [1642-3]
'ander$^{s}$ w$^{th}$ a good nu'ber bothe of horse and foote; And lykewyse came to theim, all or most of the gent. (well affected to the Parliam$^{t}$) lyvinge in the Countrey, to the nu'ber of twoe thowsand; w$^{ch}$ many tymes yssued furthe & broughte In p$^{r}$vision, & great store of prysone$^{rs}$.

*Battell on Tilston Heath.* In ffebruary *S$^{r}$ Willm. Brereton.* sente furthe his warrants to Somon [summon] In the Countie all betwixte the Age of xvj yeres & threescore To meete att a gen'all muster att Torpley [Tarporley] & ffroddesham on Tuesday the xxi$^{st}$ of ffebruary 1642[-3]; w$^{ch}$ the Comissione$^{rs}$ of Arraye havinge notice of yssued furthe of Chester, w$^{th}$ all theire forces, well mounted and armd & broughte w$^{th}$ theim twoe greate Peeces of Ordnance, & entrenched theim selves neere Tilston Heath, by the Swannes Nest, & theire planted theire ordnance, where S$^{r}$ will'm. Brereton shold haue gonne to Torpley. S$^{r}$ willm. commynge w$^{th}$in muskett shott of theim discharged att theim very freely and the Kinges ptie. lykewyse att him, w$^{th}$ theire shott & ordnance. But theire shott went over S$^{r}$ willms.

brought in much Provision, & many Prisoners. Upon this, Sir W$^{m}$. Brereton sent out his Warrants in the Name of the Parliament, & sumoned all from 16 to 60 Years of Age to come into a generall Muster at Tarperley & Fradsham, Feb: 21. Which the Commissioners of Array hearing of, issued forth of Chester, with all their Forces, & 2 great Peices of Ordinance, & entrenched themselves on the Side of Tilston Heath, near to a Place called The Swan's Nest, where Sir W$^{m}$. with his Forces met them, Febr: 22. The Array had the Advantage of the Wind & Ground: many Shots were made on both Sides, but little or no Hurt done.

[1642-3] company soe that non of theim weire either slayne nor maymed. But another pte. of bothe sides foughte towards Beeston & Tiverton towne fielde where an officer of M^r^ Maynwarings was Slayne: And vij of the Kinges side weire Slayne & buried att Torpley, as was reported. The twoe meane [main] bodies cold not come together to feighte by reason of Bogges, & bad loe [low] wett growne [ground] w^ch^ laye betwixt theim, w^ch^ the Kinges ptie. had taken on purpose, or els ytt ys supposed that the Parliam^t^ forces wold haue Rowted theim. But in the ende, bothe sides retreated w^thout^ any more harme doinge; the one ptie. to Chester, And the other to Nampt-wiche where they contynued that weeke vntill they had fortafyed all the Towne Round aboute w^th^ stronge Trenches & mudwalls of Clodds & Earthe.

*Norton howse plundered and Barne there burned.*

On Saturday the xxv^th^ of ffebruary S^r^ *willm. Brereton, m^r^ Maynwaringe* & some Captyns officer^s^ & Souldye^rs^ bothe horse and ffoote aboute ffyve hundred marched from Namptwiche to Knottesfford & Northwiche. And hearinge that Chester forces were plu'dringe Norton howse, (where the[y] burned a very goodly fayre Barne of xj Bayes, havinge much Corne In the same) and that alsoe they weire plu'dring Wea[ve]-ram and tooke & carryed away w^th^ theim all that eu'y [every] one had theire, and allsoe the[y] tooke

The Night before 300 of the Parliament Side had taken Beeston Castle, which coming down to assist the Militia, were met by the Horse of Array on Terton Town-Field, & where one of Coll: Mainwaring's Officers was slain on the Parliament Part, & a few others (as Report was) of the King's, which were buried at Tarperley.

all men p'sone[rs] that they cold meet w[th]all, to the nu'ber of Thirtie or more, S[r] willm. did dryve theim awaye from thence & contynued there aboute forte-fyinge those places well, But especially Northwiche (beinge a markett Towne) And putt a sufficiente garrison therein, whoe fetched in Daylie many horses, goods, Cattell & p[r]sone[rs]. [1642-3]

*Battell att Middlewich*[1]. Vppon Saturday the xj[th] of Marche *S[r] Thomas Aston* entered into midle-wiche (a markett Towne), w[th] fyve hundred horse & many companyes of ffoote, & that Nighte & the Saboth[2] daye nexte after, plu'derd & tooke from many places theire nexte adioynynge, both horses & howsholde goods w[ch] ymedyatlie hee sente to Chester Citie. That Saboth Colonell Brereton approched to the said Towne twyse, & discharged some Shott agaynst the Towne (beinge Newter). But retyred back agayne to Northwiche (beinge not aboue three myles) where hee then laye w[th] part of

Sir Tho: Aston, Mar: 10. came out of Chester with 500 Horse or thereabout, and many Companyes of Foot, & the next Day being Saturday entered Midleweech. His Souldiers plundered many Horses & other Goods, even upon the Sabbath Day,* & sent much of their Pillage to Chester. He sent forth his Warrants to comand the Country to provide for him & his Souldiers, upon Pain of being proceeded against as Traitors.

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[1] A long account of this battle is given by Vicars in *God in the Mount*, pp. 289-292; and in a published letter by Sir William Brereton, dated Nantwich, 15 March, 1642-3 (*penes me*). Sir Thomas Aston's own account is preserved in a letter in Harl. MSS. 2135, fol. 93. It is printed in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 56-61.

[2] Puritans at this time called Sunday the Sabbath.

* "Did not the religious & pious, his Excellency the Earl of Essex "fight at Edge Hill against his Sovereign in Person, even on the "Sabbath Day, as they called it? See the next Article." (*Cole.*)

[1642-3] his forces. And upon mondaye morninge nexte after & the xiij$^{th}$ of Marche 1642[-3], hee with the best forces hee had theire came early in the mornynge backe to Midlewiche, & vpon Sheathe Heathe att the west end of the said Towne, S$^{r}$ Thomas Aston havinge taken the advantage of the said ground & wynde, & planted his ordnance, sett upon him; the fighte contynuynge longe betwixt theim equall, vntill aboute ix or x a Clocke; And then about Eleaven hundred horse & foote came downe Bouthe Lane, from Namptwiche into Newton att the Southe ende of the Towne (where S$^{r}$ Thomas Aston had planted a good Brasse peece of ordnance) and made ytt well manned w$^{th}$ foote & horse, w$^{ch}$ Namptwiche forces p'ceyvinge did w$^{th}$ theire horse & foote leape into the fieldes on both sides the Lane; And w$^{th}$ often discharging upon S$^{r}$ Thomas Astons forces and they att theim agayne, did at the longe [*i.e.* did at length] wyn ground of them; & did gett soe neere the ordnance, that they did dryve the m$^{r}$ [master] Gunner from ytt; And seazed the same, & havinge gotten ytt, the

Sir W$^{m}$. Brereton came with his Forces, from Northwich, & faced Middlewich Mar: 12 being the Lord's Day, twice discharging some Shot against the Town: he returned to Northwich that Night; and upon Munday Morning early he came to Middlewich with what Forces he had, to fight Sir Tho: Aston, who had taken his Ground, planted his Ordinances, & gotten Advantage of the Wind upon Shette Heath at the Town's End. The Fight began, & was somewhat equall, but violent till 9 or 10 of the Clock, & then some Horse & Foot came from Nantwich to Booth Lane, to the Assistance of Sir W$^{m}$. Brereton, & entered into Newton, at the End of the Town, where Sir Tho: Aston had planted a good Brass Peice of Ordinance, & mann'd it well with Horse & Foot; which Nantwich Forces perceaving, leap'd both Horse & Foot

adversaryes all fledd; and the Namptwiche forces, [1642-3]
w^th^in one hower or lesse entred the said Towne (w^th^out losse of any man), w^ch^ when the adversary p'ceyved, S^r^ Thos. Aston, *Colonell Leighe* (then the Heighe Sherryff) and as many as cold gett away vp Kinderton Streete (where wee had not any to garde that Streete) fledd awaye. Theire was taken Prysone^rs^ *Captyn Massy,* [of Cuddington], *Captyn Hurleston, Colonell Ellys, Maior Gilmore, Captyn Corbett, Captyn Starkie* of Stretton, *Captyn Morris, Captyn John Damporte,* [Davenport] of Woodforde, *Captyn John Johnes, Captyn Horton, Captyn Eaton, Captyn Lloid, Captyn Massie, Lieften^t^ Thomas Dodd, Sharley, Hosyer, Jeinyinge,* & *Maxie,* ensignes; *Warde, Proudlove, Morrye, Davenporte,* three Cannoniers; twoe Corporalls, *Lea* & *Gleave*; two peeces of ordnance, foure Barrells of Powder, two Barrells of Matches; ffoure hundred Comon Soldye^rs^, Armes for fyve hundred men; And alsoe *S^r^ Edward Mosley*[1], [Moseley]

into the Fields (forbearing to come in the Mouth of the Canon in the open Lane) they plyed it with Muskets on both Sides: but within a While the Nantwich Men got Ground, drew so near the Ordinance that they forced the M^r^. gunner away; whereupon their Adversaries fled, & within an Hour or less, the Nantwich Forces entred the Town, without Loss of any Man: which Sir Tho: Aston, & Coll: Lee, then High Sheriffe, perceaving, they both fled, & as many others as could get away: but there were taken Prisoners, Capt: Massey, Capt: Hunston, Coll: Ellis, Major Gilmore, Capt: Corbet, Capt: Starky of Stretton, Capt: Morris, & many more: also 2 Peices of Ordinance, 4 Barrels of Powder, 2 Barrels of Match, 400 comon Souldiers, Arms for 500 Men. Here was taken Sir Edw: Mosley, a rich Baronet in

[1] Sir Edward Moseley, Bart., of Rolleston, co. Stafford, and Houghs-end in Lancashire, was manorial lord of Manchester. See also a similar list of prisoners in Phillips' *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 62.

[1642-3] a greate welthy Baronett of Lancashire & Lorde of Manchester, w^ch^ weire all broughte p^r^sone^rs^ to Namptwiche, w^th^ losse of Comon Soldye^rs^ under or about tenne; And not one Captyn or Comander on the p'liam^ts^ side, neither slayne, or hurte.

*A daye of thankesgyvinge.*[1] Vppon Wednesdaye nexte after, was a very soleme daye of thankesgyvynge held att Namptwiche, w^th^ preachinge, praye^rs^ & Ringinge of Bells.

*Battell at Salteheath.*[2] Vppon Sondaye the xix^th^ of Marche 1642 [-3] *S^r^ willm. Brereton* w^th^ some troupes and Companyes of horse and foote did meete *S^r^ John Gell* w^th^ his forces vpon a Comon, about twoe myles from Stafford (called Salte Heathe) The[y] Joynynge theire forces together entendinge to have beseiged

Lancashire. These all were brought Prisoners to Nantwich, with Loss of very few Men on Sir W^m^. Brereton's Side, (under ten) as the Report then was; & not one Capt: or Comander, either slain or hurt. For which Victory, that much weaken'd the Array in Cheshire, was kept a solemn Thanksgiving in Nantwich Church, upon the Wednesday following.

About this Time, or a little before, the Lord Brook had taken Lichfield for the Parliament, where himself was slain by a Musket Bullet shot into his Head.*

Sir W^m^. Brereton was sent for to the Assistance of Sir John Gell, & his Forces, then near to Stafford, which was taken & fortified by the King's Forces (many Papists being among them) & on Sunday March 19 was a hot & fierce Battle fought between Stafford Forces (which were said to be 1700 Horse, but what Foot I heard not,) & Sir W^m^. Brereton's & Sir John Gell's;

[1] Mentioned by Vicars in *God in the Mount*, p. 291.

[2] See also Vicars, *God in the Mount*, pp. 287-8.

* "This happened 10 Days before, viz. on 2 March, S^t^. Chad's "Day, to whom the Cathedral of Lichfield, which he was preparing "to batter, was dedicated. I write this on the same S^t^. Chad's "Day 1778, at Milton, near Cambridge." (*Cole.*)

Stafford (beinge then held by the Kinges ptie.) weire [1642-3]
interrupted by meetinge a stronge ptie. furthe of
Staff.[ord] to the nu'ber of xvij hundred horse (as
was supposed) where theire was a fierce & bloddy
Battell, the Kinges ptie. being in nu'ber almost three
to one: And there the Parliam$^{t}$ forces, w$^{th}$ losse of
xiiij Comon Soldyers did Rowte the Kinges forces,
& slewe the Earle of Northampton & broughte his
bodie awaye & tooke one m$^{r}$ Chamberlayne & some
othe$^{rs}$ p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$, And also slewe all or most of theire
Captyns & chefe Comanders to the nu'ber of three-
score or thereabouts, (whereof *Captyn Bagshawe* was
one) and fyve or six hundred Soldyers, and had the
pillaginge of some of theire dead. And after they had
dryven those of the Kinges ptie. w$^{ch}$ weire lefte into
Stafford S$^{r}$ willm. retorned w$^{th}$ his forces to Nampt-
wiche on Thursdaye nighte afterwards & broughte

being far less in Number; (for the Report was, that the Enemies were 3 to 1 against them,) on a Plain called Salt Heath, some 2 Miles from Stafford; At the first they of Stafford gave so fierce an Assault, that they forct Sir W$^{m}$. Brereton & Sir John Gell to retreat, & took their Ordinance, & kill'd some 14 comon Souldiers: but the Serjeant Major of Sir W$^{m}$. Brereton, a Scotchman, by name Major Lauthen (who after in many Battles did excellently with his Foot Souldiers) rallyed the dispersed Souldiers, gave a fresh Onset, regained the Ordinance, slew the chief Comander, the Lord Compton Earle of Northampton, (great Antagonist to the Lord Brook), brought his Body away, took one M$^{r}$. Chamberlain, & some others Prisoners, slew most of their Captains & cheif Comanders, to the Number of 60 or thereabout (whereof Capt: Bagshaw was one), & 5 or 600 com̄on Souldiers: besides, they had the Pillage of some of the Dead. Upon which great Victory, Sir W. B. having driven the Enemy into Stafford, returned to Nantwich on Tuesday, March 23. with a great Mortar Peice, many Granadoes, & other rich Spoyles.

[1643] w^th^ him a greate Peece of ordnance called a morter peece & many Grenado Bulletts, and other things, where hee contynued vntill the nexte weeke after.[1]

*The Battell of Stocken Heath and beseiginge of Warrington.* [3 April, 1643.]

The nexte weeke after his retorne from Staff:[ord] hee wente w^th^ most of his horse to Northwiche & in the Hollydayes in Easter weeke 1643 Manchester men & hee w^th^ all theire forces agreed to March vnto warrington (beinge then held by the *Lord of Darbye* & the Kinges ptie.) for gaynynge of that Towne, w^ch^ was throughe fortified & where his Lords^p^ then was. Vpon Mondaye in Easter weeke *Captyn Arderne* & some other Captyns on the parliam^t^ side with a reasonable company did fface the Towne. But the Earle p'ceyvinge theire strength but smale, & neither Colonell Brereton nor Manchester men come vpp, yssued furthe w^th^ greate forces over the Bridge into Cheshire where the said Captyn Arderne & the other Captyns and Soldye^rs^ weire. The said Earle settinge upon theim w^th^ his forces slewe some of theim, & tooke other some of theim

1643. The next Week after, Sir W^m^. Brereton, with most of his Horse, went to Nantwich, [*sic;* but (?) Northwich], and in Easter Week, Manchester Men & hee with their Forces agree^d^ to meet at Warrington, for the gaining that Town from the E of Darby, who held it then & had strongly fortified it, being present in his own Person. Upon Munday in Easter Capt: Ardern, & some other Captains, with their Compa face the Town: but the Earle perceaving their Strengt^h^ (for neither Coll: Brereton nor Manchester Forces wer up to them), issued forth with great Strength into C where the Parliament Souldiers were, slew s

[1] About this time Edmund Jodrell, of Yeards' a prisoner to Nantwich: see letters, &c., in A-

p^rsone^rs, and had byn lykelie to haue slayne & Rowted theim all, had not Colonell Brereton w^th Manchester forces come Just to theire Ayde, w^ch when the Earl p'ceyved (beinge then on Stockton Heath in Cheshire where the Battle was,) his Lord^sp in all hast[e] w^th all his forces, Retorned backe into warrington w^th losse of some men lykewyse. And towards the midle of that weeke (greater forces beinge come furthe of Lancashire) Colonell Brereton w^th all theire forces Besett the Towne Round, & fiercely & vyolentlie assaulted the same. And havinge gotten Sankie Bridge & a fayre howse of one *M^r Bridgmans*, & some of theire owne works, had w^thin a smale tyme wonne the Towne; w^ch the Earl p'ceyvinge did sett the midle of the Towne on ffyre; p'[ro]testing hee wold burne the whole Towne before Brereton shold have [1643]

Prisoners, & had like to have routed them all, had not Coll: Brereton, with his Forces, came at the Instant, to their Assistance, which the Earle perceaving (being then on Stockton Heath, where the Skirmish was) retired speedily into the Town, with his Forces, having lost some of his Men; & towards the Middle of the Week, (Manchester Forces being then come) the Collonel & they beset the Town about, did fiercely & violently assault it, (having gotten Sanky Bridge, a fair House of one Mr. Bridgeman's, & some of the outer Walls) & within a short Space of Time were likely to have the Whole: which the Earle perceaving, set the Middle of the Town on Fire, protesting hee would burn it all e're they should have it: which the Parliament Forces perceaving (seeing the Fire still increasing,) to save it from utter Desolation, withdrew their Forces, after they had been there 3 dayes & more, & so departed for that Time.*

* "It may be, that the Warringtonians, in grateful Memory of "this instant Providence of Assistance, & the pious, humane & "charitable Consideration of the Parliament Forces, have retained "a grateful Sense of their obligation to their Presbyterian Bretheren, "& have erected a Presbyterian Academy there to perpetuate the "Memory of it." (*Cole.*)

[1643] ytt. Soe that the fyer encreasinge and they p'ceyving his Crueltie, to save the Towne from utter desolacon, Colonell Brereton Reased the seige & w^th^drewe his forces away, after they had lyen agaynst ytt three dayes.

*Prisoners removed to Manchester.* Vpon Loe [Low] Sondaye att Nighte, about midnighte, was p'sone^rs^ removed from Namptwiche, & sente to Manchester, (w^ch^ Colonell Brereton had longe kept their) viz: *S^r^ Edward Mosley, Colonell Ellys, Maior Gilmore, Captyn Cholmley, Captyn Massie, Captyn Hurleston, Captyn Johnes, Captyn Eaton, Captyn Horton, or Captain Morrys* whoe weire garded thither w^th^ twoe Companyes of Dragoners & theire saufelie deliv'ed.

*Captyn Massie plu'dred.* Vpon the x^th^ of Aprill 1643 The Kinges ptie., w^ch^ lay in Whitchurch, yssued furthe and plu'dred *Captyn Massie,* of Moshowse,[1] [near Audlem] & tooke awaye from him Three score head of Cattell, & some of his howshold goods, & horses from many othe^rs^: the newes thereof beinge broughte to Namptwiche, some companyes, beinge speedylie readie, marched towards Whitchurche, thinkinge to haue mett theim before they had gotten

Whitchurch in Shropshire was now replenished with many Souldiers for the King, whereof the Lord Capel was Comander in Cheif, who did much Hurt, by plundering the Country, especially about Nantwich. Apr: 10: these Souldiers came & plundered Capt: Massey, after Coll: Massey of the Moss House, & took from him 60 Head of Cattle, & some of his Household Goods, & Horses from many others; which Nantwich Souldiers having Intelligence of, speedily pursued, hoping to have rescued

[1] Captain Massie of Moss House, Audlem. The timber mansion is now a farmhouse; one of the parlours is still wainscoted and has armorial paintings over the mantelpiece.

into the Towne, but they came halfe an hower to[o] late: Yett notw^th^standinge, the[y] mett w^th^ some of theire company; slewe three of theim, tooke xij Oxen, some Armes, w^ch^ they had throwen awaye in theire fleight, & xv p'sone^rs^ whereof yonge *m^r^ Bulkeley* of Buntingsdall was one. [1643]

*Battell at Burledam.* The nexte daye afterwards Intelligence was broughte to Namptwiche that Whitchurch forces (beinge very stronge) entended w^th^ theire Carts to fetche all the goods that *Captyn Massie* had; where vpon the[y] Reased almost all the forces in Namptwiche, bothe horse & foote, to the nu'ber of one thowsand or more, And marched towards Whitchurch. Att Burledam, they mett the Kinges ptie., But after a shorte skirmishe they fled back towards Whitchurche, yett not soe speedylie, but fyve of theim were slayne, & some p'sone^rs^ of theim taken, w^th^out losse or hurte of any; onelie the[y] tooke three of our men p'sone^rs^, viz: *John Abnett, Thomas Parker,*

them: but they came Half an Hour too late: yet they overtook some of their Companyes, & slew 3 of them, took 11 Oxen, some Arms which they had thrown away in flying, & brought back 15 Prisoners, whereof yong Bulkeley of Buntingate was one.*

The next Day after, the forces of Nantwich hearing they in Whitchurch (being now grown strong) intended, with many Carts, to fetch away all that was left at Coll: Massey's, raised almost all their Strength, both Horse & Foot, to the Number of a 1000 or thereabout, & marching toward Burledam Chapel, met their Enemies; but after a little Skirmish, they fled towards Whitchurch, having slain 5, & taken 2 or 3 Prisoners, without Loss or Hurt of any Man, except 3, who were taken Prisoners & carried to Whitchurch.

* "We hear of no plundering, or flying away of the pious Parliamenteerers: they were too good Christians to be guilty of the one, & too valiant Soldiers to think of the other." (*Cole.*)

[1643] *Captyn Croxtons man* & horse, w^ch^ the[y] carryed w^th^ theim to Whitchurche; And the nexte daye after the[y] sente theim to Shrowesbury. And the Namptwiche forces retorned home in saufetie, havinge preserved Captyn Massie from any further plu'dringe att that tyme.

*Sr Richard Wilbraham decessed.* Vppon Mondaye in Easter weeke the third of Aprill 1643 *S^r^ Richard Wilbraham*, of Woodhey, Knight, and Baronett, a verie worthie gent., and a good Justice of the Peace, & p'vidente for his Country, beinge kepte p^r^soner by the Kinge, eu' [ever] scythens his Ma^ties^ first comynge to Chester Citie; first in Chester, & afterwards to Shrowesbury, where hee ended his Lyfe: and towards the later ende of the same weeke, was broughte to Acton Churche (a myle from Namptwiche) where hee was p'vatlie Buried.[1] (the occasion of his ymp^r^sonm^t^ was neu' [never] certynlie revayled.)

*An Alaram on Chester.* The nexte weeke after Easter most of the Captyns, office^rs^, trowp^rs^ and Dragone^rs^ marched from Namptwiche vp & downe to p'serve the Country from plu'dringe; and on Saturday in the same weeke, The[y] faced the Citie of Chester, came to Boughton & killed one of the Citie garde And gave a stronge Alaram vpon the Citie;

About this Time, being Easter Week, being 3 Apr: dyed Sir Ric: Wilbraham of Woodhey, a Prisoner in Shrewsbury.

The next Week after, the Soldiers at Nantwich went, & faced Chester, & when they came to Boughton, killed one of the Guard, & put the City into a great Fear, but returned speedily.

[1] The early Registers at Acton have been lost; the earliest vol. now existing commences 30th Oct., 1653; so that the exact date of his burial cannot be given.

they of the Citie tooke one of the Namptwiche soldyers p'son^er^ & noe more donne att that tyme: But the daye followinge beinge Sundaye & on Monday nexte after, they all marched backe to Namptwiche agayne. [1643]

*Battell att Cholmley house.* Vpon Tuesday mornynge, att Springe of daye, the xj of April 1643, most of Namptwich forces marched to Cholmley howse (a garrison kepte by the Kinges ptie.) beinge enformed that foure hundred of theim theire weire in that garrison. And comynge neere to the Howse they found theim ready a waytinge theire comynge; whoe yssued furthe; & theire was for the p'sente a fierce & crewell battell: But after a whyle the Namptwiche forces havinge slayne & wounded many of theim, did dryve theim into the howse & planted theire Drakes about the garden and w^th^ theim and the muskett shott, dischargeinge att the howse did muche harme, soe as they hard [heard] a greate crye in the howse. But after some shott on bothe sides, & Namptwiche forces, seeinge the advantage that they in the howse had of theim, They w^th^drewe of[f]

Upon Tuesday Morning following, at Spring of Day, they went toward Cholmley Hall, where they were informed 400 of the Army were billeted: they found them in Readiness for their Coming, where a fierce Battle was fought. At last the Nantwich Forces having slain & wounded many of them, drove them into the House, & so returned, many of their own being hurt & 3 slain, with a Booty of 600 Horses. The Report was, that 50 or more of the Army were slain in & about the House.*

* "We here may observe that what the rascally Cavaliers took "was Plunder: the Godly Party only took the Booty after a drawn "Battel." (*Cole.*)

[1643] from the howse & marched backe agayn
wiche, havinge many of theim wou
was Slayne of that side *Seriant* mak
his seriant and one Wade a Com'on Sold
broughte alyve to Namptwiche but hee
afterwards. And about three score of
ptie. horses. But the Bodie of the
cold not fetche awaye, but lefte the
theim: ytt was reported that theire we
twoe slayne of theim in and aboute the ho

*Prysoners removed.* The same Tuesdaye in the Nigh
sente p[r]sone[rs] to bee kepte att
Crewe, viz: *S[r] Edward Mosley, & Maior Gil*
had byn sent backe from Manchester)
*Norton*, and *m[r] Saringe* (the Towne minis
vpon Wednesday weire apprehended & sente
to Dodington Hall, *Edward Olton, Roger Wrig*
*Wilkes, Will'm Barnes, John Leighe, Edward*
*son* & some othe[rs] for that they weire held
malignants & suspected to have betrayed the
vnto Cholmley the Nighte before. But vpon
nexte after Edward Olton and John Wilkes
deliu'ed & sente home; And upon the same
att Nighte Maior Gilmore, m[r] Norton, and m[r] Sarin
were removed from Crewe Hall & carryed to Stoc
porte & S[r] Edward [Moseley] remayned att Crewe.

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[1] Nantwich Burial Register records:—
"April 19 1643. John Wade, Soldyer.
" " William Douglas, sergant.
" " Robert Hay, Leiuetenant."

Malpas Burial Register records:—
"April 22, 1643. 2 Soldiers slain att Cholmondeley.
May 11, " A soldier that died at Cholmondeley."

. .a the same att Night Colonell Brereton w^th^ his [1643]
. . rse retorned to Namptwiche.

. . . On Thursdaye att Nighte in Maye 1643,
. . . some horse & foote aboute Midnighte marched
. . . of the Towne towards Drayton (where *S^r^*
. . *Corbett* & aboute three hundred Cavalier^s^
. . & foot laye, begynynge to make some workes
. . .eire saufetie) aboute the Towne: But a litle
. . nne Rysinge Namptwiche forces comying
. . on the sudden (before they weire furthe of
. . Bedds), entered the Towne the[y] havinge
. . arde nor scouts abroad, but secure (as they
. . ); And killed nyne of theim, tooke many
. . rse & Armes; Soe that all or most of
. . ie foote Soldyers weire horsed home; &
. . im had 2, 3, or 4 musketts & Karbines a
. . ide app'ell [apparel] & other goods of
. . d alsoe three Ensignes, foure Drumes &
. . s. But S^r^ Vyncett fled in his shirte &
. . g his app'ell. behind him, w^ch^ *Captyn*

. . Time some Horse & Foot went out of Nant-
. . on, where Sir Vincent Corbet, & some others
. . y were, to the Number of 300 or thereabouts,
. . themselves, & make Works about the Town.
. . nted of that Design: for the Round Heads
. . them soon after Sunrising, when they in
. . red the Town, having neither Guard nor
. . e 9 of them, took many Prisoners, &
. . t the Foot Souldiers were horsed back,
. . 4 Muskets or Carbynes apeice, besides
. . There were taken 3 Ensigns, 4 Drums,
. . nt fled away in his Shirt & waistcoat,
. . him, which Capt: Whitney took, with
. . s found in his Pockets.

[1643] furthe, but did neither meete or heere of the Kinges ptie., And vpon Wednesdaye (beinge the exercyse day) Another Alaram was beaten, & Bells Ronge backewards, and almost all the forces in the Towne yssued furthe; & did heere that the Kinges ptie. had taken about xx^tie^ Kyne and yonge beasts from *Thomas Litler*, dwellinge neere Ravensmore, & had sent furthe two of theire Trowpe^rs^ to warne Carts for Carryage awaye of Haye from Baddeley; But those twoe weire taken w^th^ theire horses & Armes, & alsoe a foote Boye belonginge to *m^r^ Thomas Walley* of Cholmley, & broughte in p'sone^rs^; & the rest fledd & one of theim slayne. And the same daye, *S^r^ Edward Mosley* was broughte p'son^r^ backe agayne to Namptwiche.

*Broughte [prisoners] from Whitchurch.*

On Saturdaye the xxx^th^ of Maye 1643, some horse & foote did march furthe of Towne towards witchurche, And neere that Towne they tooke *Captyn Morris*, a Leften^t^ & a quarter m^r^ [master] & about iiij Com'on Soldyers & broughte theim p'son^rs^ to Namptwiche; And alsoe three score Kyne and yonge Beasts,

Value, & carried all away with them; the Nantwich Souldiers not daring to pursue them, lest the Town should have been endangered: for they were in Number 500 Horse, besides divers Foot Companyes, the Number not known, & had given 2 Alarms to the Town 2 Dayes together: but when Sir W^m^. Brereton, with his Horses, were returned, which was upon 30 May, a considerable Company of Horse & Foot went towards Whitchurch, & near the Town took Capt: Morice, a Lieutenant, a Quarter Master & 3 or 4 comon Souldiers, & brought them Prisoners to Nantwich, together with about 60 Kine & yong Beasts.*

* "Here is no Outcry about Plunder: 60 Kine was lawful Booty 'for the Saints, & too good for reprobate Cavaliers." (*Cole.*)

And the same att Night Colonell Brereton w^th^ his horse retorned to Namptwiche. [1643]

*Drayton Battell.* On Thursdaye att Nighte in Maye 1643, some horse & foote aboute Midnighte marched furthe of the Towne towards Drayton (where *S^r^ Vincett Corbett* & aboute three hundred Cavalier^s^ horse & foot laye, begynynge to make some workes (for theire saufetie) aboute the Towne: But a litle after Sonne Rysinge Namptwiche forces comying thether, on the sudden (before they weire furthe of theire Bedds), entered the Towne the[y] havinge neither garde nor scouts abroad, but secure (as they thoughte); And killed nyne of theim, tooke many p'sone^rs^, horse & Armes; Soe that all or most of Namptwiche foote Soldyers weire horsed home; & many of theim had 2, 3, or 4 musketts & Karbines a peece; Beside app'ell [apparel] & other goods of theires. And alsoe three Ensignes, foure Drumes & other weppons. But S^r^ Vyncett fled in his shirte & wascot leaving his app'ell. behind him, w^ch^ *Captyn*

Much about this Time some Horse & Foot went out of Nantwich towards Drayton, where Sir Vincent Corbet, & some others of the King's Party were, to the Number of 300 or thereabouts, beginning to intrench themselves, & make Works about the Town. But they were prevented of that Design: for the Round Heads came suddenly upon them soon after Sunrising, when they in Drayton were in Bed entred the Town, having neither Guard nor Scowts abroad, killed some 9 of them, took many Prisoners, & Horses, & Arms: so that the Foot Souldiers were horsed back, & many of them had 3 or 4 Muskets or Carbynes apeice, besides Apparell, & other Goods. There were taken 3 Ensigns, 4 Drums, & other Weapons. Sir Vincent fled away in his Shirt & waistcoat, leaving his cloaths behind him, which Capt: Whitney took, with all his Money & many Letters found in his Pockets.

1643] *Whitney* had w^th^ his money & many letters in his Pockett. *Captyn Kynnaston* & *Captyn Sandford* weire theire Slayne, beinge Cavaliers: Namptwiche forces did noe wronge nor harme to the Towne, but onelie threwe downe theire workes, after the Cavalier^s^ weire all fledd & slayne, & taken p'son^rs^; & then retorned back to Namptwiche in saufetie w^th^out losse of any man, savinge some fewe Com'on soldye^rs^ about three or foure w^ch^ weire hurte in the streetes w^th^ shotts furthe of wyndowes.

*Stafford taken.*[1] Vppon Mondaye the xv^th^ of Maye 1643 *Colonell Brereton* w^th^ his Trowpe^rs^ of horse & Dragoone^rs^ did p^r^vatlie gather together about Audley in Staffordshire, & Joyninge w^th^ *Colonell Ridgeway*, (whose Companyes then laye att Newcastle & Leeke) on Tuesday morninge by three a Clocke almost peaceablie entred Stafford Towne, throwe [through] the pollicey & manhood [*i.e.* manfulness] of *Maior Broomehall* & a fewe other^s^ (The people in the Towne beinge quyett in theire Bedds), and possessed theim selves thereof, w^th^out losse of any man; They tooke aboue ffoure hundred Prysone^rs^, & many gent. of

Here Capt: Kinnaston & Capt: Sandford were slain of the King's Party; After the Nantwich Forces had thrown down their Works, their Enemies being subdued, they returned Home in Safety without the Loss of any, or doing the Towns Men any Hurt; only 3 or 4 of the comon Souldiers were shot out of the Windows, but not slain.

Upon Munday, May 15 Coll: Brereton's Troops of Horse & Dragoons did privately gather together about Audley & joyning Coll: Ridgley, who then lay at Newcastle & Leek, did, on Tuesday Morning by 3 of the Clock, almost peaceably enter into Stafford,

[1] See also Vicars, *God in the Mount*, pp. 332-4.

worthe, viz: *Captyn Sneyde, Captyn Bydolph, Captyn Leighe* of Adlington, *Captyn Bagott, Captyn Collyer, Captyn Hunt, Captyn Tresswall,* & many other Comande[rs] & gents. & *Colonell Lane* was Slayne, beinge on the Kinges ptie. Beside many Townesmen w[ch] weire alsoe taken p[r]sone[rs]. [1643]

*Lord Capell comynge agaynst Namptwich.*

On Wednesdaye in the Evenynge the xvij[th] of Maye 1643, The *Lorde Capell* w[th] a greate Company of Cavalie[rs] bothe of Whitchurch and Shropshire & other places to the nu'ber of xv hundred or more (as was supposed), came agaynst Namptwiche (almost to the Aspell Streete end) & shott at the towne: & they in the Towne lykewise att theim (havinge notice by the Scouts of theire approche, & beinge well p'vyded to haue bidden theim welcome); slewe three of theim & wounded other some of theim; where they contynuynge, indeavoringe to plante foure peeces of ordnance (w[ch] they broughte with theim) about Malpas-field But fyndinge all the groundes thereabouts to[o] heighe over the Towne, (not fitting theire purpose) And the Towne Gunner throwinge wyld fier Balls a mongest theim (beinge not able to staye) betwixt on[e] &

took the Town all being quiet in their Beds, without the Losse of a Man, seased upon a great Number of Prisoners, whereof some were Gentlemen of Worth, took many Captains, viz: Capt: Sneyd, Capt: Biddulph, Capt: Lee of Adlington, Capt: Bagot, Capt: Hunt, Capt: Treswell, with many other Comanders, & Col: Lane was slain.

Upon Wednesday in the Evening the 17 of May, the Lord Capell, with Whitchurch & Shropshire Forces, to the Number of 1500 (as was conceaved) came near to Nantwich, even almost to the End of the Aspell Street, discharged against the Town, who returned the Like to him, & slew some of his Men, & wounded

[1643] twoe a Clocke on Thursdaye mornynge, the[y] marched backe to Whitchurche w^th^ greate disgrace, havinge p'formed nothinge nor soe much as hurte one man: onelie the[y] killed a calfe of *m^r^ Thomas Maynwarings*, w^ch^ they lefte behind theim, & brooke some Barnes for Haye; Wherevpon theire was a Ryme made on theim, viz.:

The Lord Capell w^th^ a thowsand & a halfe
Came to Bartons Crosse[1] & theire they kild a Calfe:
And stayinge theire vntill the breake of Daye,
The[y] tooke their heeles & fast the[y] fled away.

Att that tyme Colonell Brereton & all the horse were att Stafford from whence w^th^ his horse hee retorned to Namptwiche on ffryday evenynge.

*Warrington Taken.*[2] On ffryday evenynge the xix of May 1643 Manchester forces & some othe^rs^ furthe of Cheshire mett att Warrington; vpon Whit-

others whither they continued Endeavours to have planted 4 Peices of Ordinance, which they brought with them about Malpas Field: but finding the Town somewhat inconvenient, & the Town Gunners flinging Wild Balls amongst them, between one & two of the Clock on Thursday Morning, they returned back to Whitchurch with Shame, hurting no Man: only they killed a calf of M^r^. Tho: Mannering's, & broke Barns for Hay; whereupon the Town Souldiers made a Rime.

The Lord Capell, with a Thousand & an Half,
Came to Barton's Crosse, & there they kill'd a Calf;
And staying there untill the Break of Day,
They took their Heels, & fast they ran away.

At this Time Coll: Brereton, & all his Horse were at Stafford from whence they returned to Namptwich, & some considerable

[1] "Bartons Cross," now simply called "*The Cross*," is in Stapeley township, on the east side of Nantwich.

[2] See Vicars, *God in the Mount*, p. 341.

sonday [21 Maye] & on Mondaye mornynge in Whit- [1643]
son weeke, they planted theire ordnance & besett the said Towne Round & plaid vpon ytt, & the Towne vpon theim all that weeke vntill Saturdaye: The Towne beinge strongelie fortified they w^th^in did defend theim selves & the Towne very bravely & resolutelie. But theire p^r^vision growinge smale, The[y] admitted of a plye. [parley]; where ytt was agreed that the Towne shold bee Rendred vpp, & some Captyns & Comande^rs^ shold depte. awaye, onelie eu'y [every] one w^th^ his horse & pistolls & all the Comon Soldye^rs^ w^th^out Armes whither they wold, (w^ch^ was truelie p^r^formed) And to leaue all Armes, Amunycon, and p^r^vision behind theim: And vppon Trinitye Sondaye, *S^r^ George Bouthe,* (Lord of the Towne) was Joyfullie receyved In by th'inhabitaunce. Theire weire some slayne on the p'liamt side, And but twoe of the Towne.

*Whitchurch taken.* The xxix^th^ of Maye beinge Mondaye aboute xj or xij a Clocke in the Nyghte, *Colonell Brereton,* w^th^ the horse & almost all the foote in Namptwiche together w^th^ all the

Forces out of Cheshire marched forth to meet the Forces of Manchester at Warrington, which happened to be on Whitsunday, May 21^st^. On Monday Morning they planted their Ordinances & beset the Town round about, played upon it all that Week, it being strongly fortified, & the Souldiers behaving themselves very bravely: but Bread & other Necessaries being scarce, upon Saturday they came to a Parley, where it was agreed upon, That the Town should be rendred up, & that some Capt: & Comanders should depart with every Man his Horse & Pistols, & all the Soldiers to pack away unarmed, & leave all their Arms, Amunition & Provision behind them: which was done accordingly.

And upon Trinity Sunday Sir George Booth, being Lord

[1643] Townesmen (exceptinge some fewe to garde the Towne) marched towards Whitchurch And came thether about three a Clocke on Tuesdaye mornynge, whoe sett vpon the Towne & the[y] did Resist theim w^th^ all theire power, bothe horse & foote (beinge in the Towne as was supposed) about vj or vij hundred: The Namptwiche foote soldye^rs^ ffyringe very fearcely vpon theym, and they in the Towne did the lyke, maynteynynge theire workes & Towne very bravely: But ytt pleased God, after twoe howers fighte very galantlie on bothe sides, that Namptwiche forces (w^ch^ weire about Eyght hundred) killed some of the Gunne^rs^ and othe^rs^ at theire workes neere the Claye pitts, dryvinge the Townesmen from theire workes, & entered the Towne, w^th^ losse of one man onelie slayne outrighte twoe or three sore wounded w^ch^ dyed afterwards. And beinge in the Northe pte. of the Towne (many othe^r^ Streets beinge not entered but lyinge open) Theire horse & many of the townesmen & Soldye^rs^ fledd. But theire was taken about xx^tie^ p^r^son^rs^; one very fayre foote Collo^rs^; foure good peeces of Ordnance; very

of the Town, entered it, where he was joyfully entertained by the Inhabitants. There were slain on the Parliament Side only 4, and 2 of the Town; wherein the mercy of God appeared. ☜

Upon Sunday [*sic* for Monday], May 29, about 11 or 12 a Clock in the Night, Sir W^m^. Brereton, with all his Horse & Foot in Nantwich, in all 800 or thereabout, marched toward Whitchurch, & came thither at 3 of the Clock in the Morning, assaulted the Town which had in it about 6 or 700 Horse & Foot, who defended the Town very stoutly: but it pleased God, after 2 Hours Dispute, to deliver the Town into their Hands, with the Loss only of one Man slain outright, & 2 or 3 more dangerously hurt, which dyed afterwards. He entered on the North Side of the Town, & many

many Armes; and much money & brave app'ell of the Lord Capells & other gent. Twoe Covered waggons, powder, Bulletts, matches, & goods of the Soldyers greate store, many Drumms, one Trumpett & many horses; the Soldyers havinge most of the pillage: Soe that theire weire scarce any Soldyer, but hee retorned backe either horsed, or well laden wth pillage, or both; onelie taking theim; not doinge the Towne any harme; And about iij a Clocke the same daye in the afternoone, They retorned all back agayne vnto Namptwiche, leavinge much Cheese, goods & Am'unycon behind theim onelie for want of Cartes and carryage: wch uppon ffryday nexte after weire fetched thence, & broughte to Namptwiche; [1643]

other Streets being open, many of the Townsmen, the Horse and Souldiers fled. They took about 20 Prisoners, one fair Foot-Couler, [colour] four good Peices of Ordinance, very many Arms, much Money, brave Apparell of the Lord Capell's, & other Gentlemen, two covered Wagons, good Store of Powder &c. & Goods of the Souldiers, many Drums, one Trumpet, & many Horses, insomuch as there was not a Souldier but returned back either well horsed, or laden with Pillage, or both. So they returned safe to Nantwich the same Day about 4 or 5 of the Clock in the Afternoon; leaving very much Cheese, Amunition & Goods behind them, for want of Carts & Carriage, & much Bacon, Malt & Wheat etc. which was fetcht away the Day after upon 14 Carts and Wagons, without Opposition. They dealt friendly with the Townsmen, (as the Report was) taking little of their Goods, but only the Enemyes.*

Upon Munday June 12, 4 or 5 Companyes of Dragooners went

* "To whom did the Goods, Bacon, Cheese, Malt, Wheat &c. "belong? hardly to the Enemy. By his Exactness one would suppose "that he was a Chaplain, as Ric: Baxter, of famous Memory in the "Rebel Army: how else should he be so minute as to the exact Num-"ber of Ensigns, Drums, Trumpets, &c. taken from the Royalists?" (*Cole.*)

[1643] beinge wagons & Cartes Loades of Cheese, Bacon, Malte, Wheate, Corne, Armes, & goods, fourteene loads, w^ch^ came all saufe w^th^out any opposicon [opposition], taking noe mans goodes but onelie the Cavaliers.

*Booties taken from Shocklage & thereabouts.*

On Monday the xij^th^ of June 1643 some companyes of Dragone^rs^ marched furthe towards the Holte (beinge then the fayre daye theire) and in ffarne [Farndon] gave theim an Alaram, w^ch^ affrighted theim sore: But they bended theire course towards Shocklage in w^ch^ pte. the[y] tooke fourescore and eighteene good Oxen & Cattell: And many horses & att Nighte retorned w^th^ theim all saufe to Namptwiche.

*Mr. Leeches howse & a Com'ission^r^ of Array taken.*

On Saturdaye the x^th^ of June 1643 some Companyes marched furthe to Carden & sett vpon *m^r^ Leeches* howse, (a Com'ission^r^ of Arraye) whoe did oppose theim; But in the end they gott the howse; apprehended him; broughte him w^th^ theim p^r^son^r^; plu'dred his howse; Kild a servant maid w^th^ shootinge att the

from Nantwich towards the Holt, & being then the Time of their Fair, & coming into Farn unexpectedly, gave them a great Alarm, which affrighted them not a little: thence they went to Shockledge, & the Parts adjacent, where they fetcht 98 Beasts, Oxen, & other Cattle, with many Horses and at Night returned safe again to Nantwich.*

About this Time they plunder'd M^r^. Leetche's House of Carden, who was one of the Array, & in shooting at the House, which

* "Fetching with the rebellious Saints was quite different from "Cavaliers plundering. Perhaps the poor Country People could see "no Difference between one & the other." (*Cole.*)

howse, & broughte w^th^ him, some other^s^, and some horses alsoe to Namptwiche. [1643]

*Ammunycon broughte to Namptwiche.* Upon Tuesday the xiij^th^ of June *Colonell Brereton* havinge byn att Liverpoole, for vnloadinge of a Ship, w^ch^ was come thether from London w^th^ his greate ordnance & Am'unycon. came w^th^ his troupe of horse to Namptwiche & broughte w^th^ him *Doctor Byrom* p'sone^r^, & vj Loads of his owne Am'unycon. in saufetie beinge accompanied w^th^ many brave Captyns & com'anders.

*Mr. Bostock did penance at the Cage.* On Saturdaye the xvij^th^ of June 1643 *John Bostocke* of Tatnull [Tattenhall] Esqr., Learned in the Lawes, Clerke vnto the Councell of warr at Namptwiche beinge taken w^th^ the Acte of Adultery w^th^ one Alice Chetwood in the vicarage howse in Namptwiche, vpon the Sabothe daye att tyme of Dyvyne servis (where hee then lyved) was by Judgm^t^ of the same Councell adiudged to stand in the markett place, vpon the markett daye,

opposed them, they killed a Woman Servant, & brought M^r^. Leech, & other Prisoners to Nantwich.

Upon Tuesday June 13 Sir W^m^. Brereton, having been at Leverpool, for the unlading of a Ship, which was come thither from London, with great Ordinance & Amunition, returned with his Troop, accompanied with many Captains & Comanders, & brought with him Dr. Byrom, Prisoner & 6 Loads of Amunition.

Upon Saturday June 17 Mr. John Bostock of Tattenhall, Counsellor at Law, then Clark of the Councell of Warre at Nantwich, being found guilty of the Act of adultery with one Alice Chitwood, in the Minister's House on the Sabbath Day at the Time of Divine Service, was by the Judgment of the whole Counsell adjudged to stand in the Market Place, at the Height of the Market, with a Paper upon his Breast, signifying his Offence:

[1643] (beinge Saturdaye) duringe most pte. of that daye w^th^ paper^s^ vpon his Brest (signifyinge his offence) w^ch^ was executed accordinglie w^th^ his whore standinge by him.

*The evell marche to Hanmer.*

Upon Tuesday the xx^th^ of June 1643 Colonell Breretons troupe, *Captyn Bulkley* & many othe^r^ troupe^rs^ & Dragone^rs^ marched furthe of Namptwiche behynd whitchurche to Hanmiyre [Hanmer] & further, (for what entente was not certynlie Knowne), where they were sett vpon by the Lord Capell, & Welshe forces, (whoe had laid an ambush for theim), whoe dispersed and scattred all the same Namptwiche forces beinge to[o] stronge for theim. Soe that many of theim weire taken p^r^sone^rs^, some slayne,[1] many of theim wounded, (althoughe some of the Kinges ptie. weire

which was executed accordingly, his Whore, with another Paper, standing by.*

Upon Tuesday June 20, Nantwich Troops, Capt: Bulkeley, & many other Companyes, went beyond Whitchurch to Hanmer, & further into the Enemyes Quarters, where they were met by the Lord Capel, & the Welch Forces, (who had laid in Ambush for them,) & were all dispersed & scattered, so that many of them were taken Prisoners, & some slain, & very many sore wounded:

[1] In Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. i., p. 162, it is related on the authority of *Aulicus*, 26th week, p. 339, that "in the breeches of one of the Nantwich prisoners was found the surplice of Hanmer Church." About twenty years ago, the body of, perhaps, one of the slain was found outside Hanmer, lying across a ditch, only covered with a few inches of soil as if hastily buried. There were buttons and other evidences of its being the body of a soldier two hundred years ago.—(Information by the Rev. M. H. Lee, Vicar of Hanmer.)

* "Could any Thing be said in Defence of a Crime so offensive to "the Laws of God & Society, it would be this, that almost any offence "would be lessened by not attending what they called Divine Service, "where Rebellion and Schism were sure to be the subject of his "prayer & Preaching." (*Cole.*)

slayne and speciallie some of theire Com'anders of greate sorte): w^ch^ was the worst days worke that ever Namptwiche forces had from the Begynynge. Att w^ch^ tyme the[y] had the *Lieftn^t^ Colonell & Captyn Sankie,* Captyn of Colonell Breretons horse taken p^r^sone^rs^ but noe more Com'anders. [1643]

*Wakefield.*[1] In Whitsonweeke 1643 certyn Intelligence was broughte to Namptwiche from Wakefield that theire was a greate overthrowe gyven vnto the Arraye the Sonday before (beinge Whitsonday) by *S^r^ Thos. ffierefax;* where weire taken *Colonell Goring,* (gent. of the horse) *S^r^. Thos. Bland, Maior Carr, Captyn Carnaby, Captyn Wilbore,* & other Captyns & Comande^rs^; xiiij hundred comon Soldye^rs^, 2 Drakes, 2 greate peeces of ordnance,

one Lieutenant Collonel, & Capt: Sankey, (Capt. of Sir W^m^. Brereton's Horse) were taken Prisoners. Some also of the other Party were slain, & as the Report went, some Comanders of especiall Note. This was said to be the worst Dayes Work that Nantwich Souldiers did, from the Beginning of the Warr to that Time.

About this time News came from Wakfield in Yorkshire of a great Victory gotten there over the Array by Sir Tho: Fairfax.

Much about this Time, a Company of Horse came from Cholmley (then a Garrison for the King) to Bunbury Church, & beset it, there being a Congregation assembled to hear a funerall Sermon. They aimed to take some Roundheads, & especially mee; but through God's Mercy I escapt.*

Edw: Morton, a Man of Sir Edw: Fitton's, drying Gun-

[1] Wakefield battle was fought on 21 May, 1643 (Civil War Tract, *A Miraculous Victory,* &c. Printed for Edward Husbands, May 29, 1643.) See also Vicars, *God in the Mount,* pp. 337-8.

* "By this it is evident, that he was a Faction Blower in the Country." (*Cole.*)

[1643] 22 Colors, many horse, & thirty or fortie Carryages, w^th^ Armes, Ammunycon & goods.

*Chester.* On Mondaye Eveninge xvij^th^ of Julye 1643 *Colonell Brereton* w^th^ almost all the forces in Namptwiche bothe horse and foote (exceptinge Captyn Massye and y^e^ trayned bands of Namptwiche Hundred) Togeither w^th^ all the forces in the Countie (on the pliam^t^ ptie.) And some furthe of Stafford & Manchester marched towardes Chester Citie att that Nighte intendinge to haue entered theire outworks before they had byn awarr and soe donne; yf a messenger w^ch^ was sente with letter^s^ from old *m^r^ walthall*[1] *or his wyfe,* had not gyven notice to the Citie, w^ch^ was not aboue twoe howers before the forces came thether. But vpon that notice the forces in the Citie weire p^r^sentlie Ready & did vehementlie oppose the said Namptwiche forces, havinge made exceedinge stronge works & mounted fourtie peeces of ordnance on the Castle, & other theire workes, that noe good could be donne: (althoughe the[y] laye about ytt on the Lande side vntill Thursdaye mornynge, shooting & dischargynge theire musketts & some ordnance w^ch^ was

powder in his House, which he said was to make an End of the Roundheads, burnt his House, himself, & 4 of his Children, with his Household Goods. But his Wife, who had reproved him for his threatning Speeches, through God's Mercy escaped. Related for a certain Truth by one of his Neighbors.

This Year upon Munday July 17 Sir W^m^. Brereton, with his Cheshire Forces, assisted by some out of Stafford & Manchester,

[1] Mr. Alexander Walthall, Sen^r^, of Wistaston, n^r^ Nantwich, who was a delinquent, died Feb., 1645-6; his goods were sold for the public use at Nantwich, an inventory of which is preserved in Harl. MSS. 2166. f. §§.

broughte thether (on bothe pties.) & some slayne on bothe sides) And p'ceyvinge the[y] weire not then lykely to doe any good for wynnynge of the Citie, (but by a longe siege) & hearinge that the Lord Capell had drawen greate companyes furthe of Shrowesbury & Reased the Trayned bands in Shropshire, & beinge advanced towards Chester as far as to Orton Maddocke, Colonell Brereton reased his seige & marched backe to Namptwiche, w^th^ his ordnance Carryage and all in saufety, havinge lost onely twoe com'on Soldye^rs^ & foure other wounded, but not mortaly. The reporte was afterwards that theire was slayne in the Citie xv, whereof on[e] was a woman & another a Childe.[1] [1643]

*Stafford Castle Surrendred.*

On ffryday mornynge the xxviij^th^ of July 1643, *Colonell Hastinges* w^th^ aboute foure hundred horse came from Lichfield, faced Stafford towne & releeved the Kinges ptie. in the Castle. But *Colonell Greaves*

marched towards Chester. They set forth in the Evening, travelling all Night, in Hopes to have surprized them unawares, & so to have taken the Outworks early next morning. But the Design was discovered by Letters, sent by some in, or near Nantwich. He sate down before it 3 Dayes: but the City was too strongly fortefied for them to do any good at that Time: besides, he had Intelligence that the Lord Capell, with Shrewsbury & Shropshire Forces, was come as far as Orton Madock for the Relief of Chester: therefore he returned to Nantwich on Thursday following, having lost 2 Men, & 4 were wounded, but not mortally.

Upon Friday Morning July 28 certain Forces of Coll: Hastings,

[1] According to Vicars, *God's Ark*, p. 18, Houghton Castle, [*sic*, Halton Castle] in Cheshire, was taken by Brereton about 22 July, 1643 but I find no other mention of this elsewhere.

[1643] w^th^ a Considerable force yssued furthe of Stafford agaynst theim, & the Kinges forces tooke into the Castle, & went to Dynn' [dinner] quyetlie, not caringe for soe smale a Company. But, beinge att Dinner, They in the Castle weare a warr [aware] of Colonell Brereton comynge towards theim from Stone w^th^ about a thowsand horse, where hee had quartred the Nighte before. They all in the Castle speedylie fledd awaye, leavinge the Tables covered, & leavinge behind theim all the plate, spoones, meate & p^r^vision, Musketts, Ammunycon & almost all they had in the Castle; leavinge noe bodie behind them, neither did they in Stafford knowe thereof, vntill afterwards the same was discovered by a Boy w^ch^ broughte worde to the Towne (standinge not aboue a myle from the Castle). But when the Colonell had entred the Castle, w^ch^ the[y] might easeally doe, The[y] found theire good store of Beere, p^r^vision, Beddinge & goods to a greate value. A Captyn Lieften^t^ of Colonell Greaves & one other comon Soldyer weire

to the Number of 400 Horse, came from Lichfield, & faced Stafford, lately won to the Parliament, & releived them in the Castle, which yet stood out: but Coll: Greaves his Company issued out against them; then they fled into the Castle; & not caring for so small a Company, they went to Dinner very confidently. But being at Dinner, some in the Castle espyed Sir W^m^: Brereton coming against them, with about a 1000, which had quartered the Night before at Stone: they presently fled out of the Castle leaving the Table covered & Provision upon it, some Plate. They left also their Muskets, Arms, & almost all they had, behind them: neither did they in Stafford know it, till a Boy discovered it: then entring the Castle, they found good Store of Beer, Bedding, & Goods to a great value. At this time was

slayne; But how many of the other ptie. were not knowne. [1643]

*Lord Capell came agayne agaynst the Towne the third time.*

Upon Thursday in the afternoone the third of August, *Lord Capell* w^th^ a great force to the nu'ber of three thowsand came to Ravensmore, appearinge att the firste not aboue twoe or three Troupes of horse, Colonell Brereton beinge then at Stafford. The Soldyers & some Townes men yssued furthe of Namptwiche (p'ceyvinge theire nu'ber soe fewe), w^th^ good store of horse; w^ch^ when the Enemy p'ceaved they broughte vp more of theire horse, (beinge readie in Baddington Lane) & advanced towards Namptwiche forces. So they p^r^sentlie fyred on both sides. But the Kinges ptie. still increasinge, the Towne forces retreated homewards w^th^out much harme; onelie *Liefte^t^ Ashley*[1] was, by mischance, slayne by one

slain a Capt: Lieut: to Coll: Greaves & one other: but who of the other Side was not known.

Upon Thursday Aug: 3 in the Afternoon, the Lord Capel came to Ranmore, with a great Strength to the number of 3000 Men, or thereabout: they came not all at once, but divided themselves. At the first, 2 or 3 Troops appeared, which Nantwich perceaving went confidently against them, with what Forces they had in Reddiness, Sir W^m^. Brereton being then at Stafford. The Enemy seeing this, brought up more of their Horse, which stayed behind at Baddington Lane, & advanced towards Nantwich Souldiers: so that they fired on both Sides, & shot one at

[1] Nantwich Register records the burials of these three soldiers :—
"1643 Aug. 5. Edward Ashley Lieutenant.
" " Richard Massey, trouper.
" " Allen Swanich, trouper."

[1643] of his fellowes, & *Dicke Massie & one other Com'on Soldyer* weire slayne w^th^ a Cannon Bullett from the Enemy. That nighte the Kinges ptie. w^th^ many loades of Carryage & foure greate peeces of ordnance laye quyetelie vpon Ravensmore. And the same Nighte & the daye followinge the Soldye^rs^ in the Towne fyred & burned all *m^r^ walthall's* out-buyldings on the Heath-side, fyringe the Hall, w^ch^ receyved some harme, but was not burned downe; & alsoe the[y] burned *Thomas Cu'*[*m*]*berbach's* howse, & Stable, widowe *Podmores* howse & Stable, *Marchants* Barne, All the Coates [cottages] on the Heathe next towards the Towne: *Roger Wrights* Barne, *Thomas Burrowes* Barne, *Saboth Churches* Barne, *John Yardleys* Barne, *Massie & Bromhalls* howses at NEWE TOWNE: and they caused *Richard Wicksteeds* Barne & all the Coates & dwellynge howses on Acton pavem^t^ to bee pulled downe for feare lest the Enemy sholde bee sheltred theire; Upon ffryday mornynge about Sixe a Clocke, they assaulted the Towne on the southe side, betwixte *Marche Lane & Weeuer*; (beinge a very thicke darke mist, fitt for theire purpose); And beinge very neere the works before the[y] weire Seene of any of the Townesmen, ffyred very vehementlie:

another: but when Nantwich Men saw the Enemy still encrease, they retreated in Time, without Loss of any, save one Ric: Massey, one other & Lieut: Ashley, who was slain by one of his Fellows at unawares.

That Night the Enemy with all their Forces, many Loads of Carriage, & 4 great Peices of Ordinance, lay quietly upon Ranmore, & upon Friday Morning about 6 of the clock (there being a very thick & dark Mist fit for their Purpose) they set upon the

& plaid w^th^ theire Cannons agaynst the Towne very muche; as fast as ever they cold discharge; but (thanks bee to God) did noe harme att all, neither slewe nor wounded any but onelie one hurte in the side of his Necke, (w^ch^ was not mortall): And they receyved the lyke from the Towne, bothe w^th^ musketts & ordnance; and soe contynued on bothe sides vntill betwixt ix & x a Clocke in the affore noone. The mist beinge then gonne & the Sonne shynynge fayre, and the Kinges forces p^r^ceyvinge theim selves neere[r] the works, then [than] they ymagined, & p'ceyvinge the great daunger [they] weire In, fledd as fast as they cold; But not soe fast but the ordnance and muskett shott, did overtake theim, in suche man'[ner] as about xl^tie^ [40] of theim weire slayne, & xvj [16] sore wounded, (as was credeblie reported); & some of theim of good sorte, whose names cold not bee Knowne; & theireupon, they beinge fledd & gonne, for the rest of that daye and the Nighte followinge the Towne was in quyett. Althoughe about midnight an idell Alaram [was] gyven by the watch, [1643]

Town on the South Side between March Lane & Weaver, & being very near the Walls before they could be seen of the Townsmen, they fired very fiercely, & played mightily with their Canons, but did little Hurt. The Townsmen again, & their Souldiers out of their Works, returned the Like to them, both with Ordinance & Muskets. This hot Work continued till 9 or 10 of the Clock, when the Sun dispel'd the Mist. The Enemy then perceaved themselves to be too near the Works, & so in great Danger fled away apace: but they in the Town followed them with shooting, that they killed about 40 of them, wounded 16. And from that Time forward Nantwich was quiet from the Lord Capel, & his Forces: only their frequent Coming about Nantwich occasioned the burn-

1643] by reason of sparks of fyer w^ch^ they sawe p'ceedinge from seu'all [several] howses & Barnes w^ch^ weire burned the daye before; thinking they had byn lighte matches of the Enymyes. Many companyes bothe Horse and foote, (hereing of the beseiginge of the said Towne), came furthe of Lancashire & Staffordshire to theire Ayde; and vij score Dragone^rs^ came from the Morelands in Staffordshire; soe farr as Haslington on Saturdaye the v^th^ of Auguste in Ayde of the said Towne; where they did quarter theim selves that Nighte; (beinge w^th^in fyve myles of the said Towne) & hearinge the Enymye was fledd, the[y] retorned backe agayne to theire owne homes.

*Ayde come to Namptwiche.*

And att theire retorne, they sett vpon Biddle howse w^th^ some of Namptwiche forces, (beinge a stronge Stone howse of *m^r^. Biddles* (a papist) in Staffordshire,) and gaue theim an alaram & soe depted. [departed].

*Allaram gyven to Biddle [Biddulph].*

ing of many Houses, Barns & Coates where they had Shelter; & that very Night, & the next Day the Souldiers were employed in that Business.

A Report being spread abroad, that Nantwich was beseiged, many of their Allies came out of Lancashire & Staffordshire, both Horse & Foot, to have aided the Town: but hearing that the Enemy was departed they returned Home again. Among the Rest there came 140 Dragooners of the Moorlands, as far as Haslington, on Saturday Aug: 5, where they quartered themselves that Night: & in their Return, gave a strong Alarm to M^r^. Biddulph's House in Staffordshire, which was a Garrison. This Biddulph was a great papist.*

* "Suppose he was: was he the worse Subject on that Account? Their Venom & Malice against them shewed itself in the next Instance." (*Cole.*)

*Chedleton howse taken.* [*Chillington*]

On Thursday the xth of August 1643 *Colonell Brereton*, beinge then att Stafford, w^th^ his forces & Staffordshire [1643] forces marched to Chedleton Howse, beinge *m^r^. Jeffords* (another greate Papist in Staffordshire) w^th^ three greate peeces of Ordnance, & a sett of Drakes; beseiged the same, & played w^th^ theire ordnance agaynst the said howse twoe dayes together; & made greate breaches in the same. And aboute foure a Clocke on ffryday evenynge they in the howse, not able to indure any longer, yielded vp the same Cravinge quarter, w^ch^ was graunted theim. And Colonell Brereton, entring the howse w^th^ some of his forces, tooke theire the said m^r^ Jefford, his twoe sonnes, & aboute three score more p^r^sone^rs^, & alsoe an old Semynary Preest, w^th^ Armes for twoe hundred men, & good store of Ammunycon, p^r^vision, and goods, w^ch^ they carryed all to Stafford, w^th^ the losse onelie of one Comon Soldyer & a Boye.

*Thomas Middleton cominge to Namptwiche 19 Aug. 1643.*

Upon Saturdaye mornynge aboute Noone, *Colonell Brereton* came w^th^ some fforces to Namptwiche, beinge the xix of August 1643; And about viij a Clocke att Nighte, *S^r^ Thomas Middleton* w^th^

Aug: 10. Sir W^m^. Brereton, being then at Stafford, went with the Forces he had there, against M^r^. Giffard's House of Chillington, which was garrison'd with 3 great Peices of Ordinance, & one Set of Drakes. They beseiged the House, & playing hard upon it 2 Dayes together, upon Friday the Beseiged yeilded, being sore battered, & not able to hold out any longer: so the House was surrendred upon fair Quarter given them. They took Prisoners M^r^. Giffard & his 2 Sons, a Seminary Priest, & 60 others, & carried them to Stafford: Arms for 200 Men, great Store of

[1643] greate forces, Seyvon [seven] greate peeces of ordnance, foure cases of Drakes, and aboute fourtie Carryage of Armes and Ammunycon, came alsoe to Namptwiche; where hee contynued for a certyn space.

*Dirtwiches the workes destroyed.* On Mondaye the xxviij of August aforsaid, *Captyn Croxton*[1] *& Captyn Venables*[2] Companyes (w^th^ others w^ch^ laye in garryson att Cholmley) marched to bothe Townes of Dirtwiches,[3] beinge places wheire Salte was made w^ch^ the Kinges side had; And theire they defaced, cutt in peeces, & spoyled all theire workes, pumps, and Salte pitts; and broughte some of theire Pannes to Namptw^ch^; whereby all theire Salte makinge was spoyled, w^ch^ found the Kinges armye att Shrowesbury, Wales,

Ammunition: & this with the Loss of one Man & a Boy. And so Sir W^m^. Brereton returned in the Afternoon to Nantwich; whither the same Day, at Night, about 8 of the Clock, came Sir Tho: Middleton, out of Wales, with all his Forces, & great Peices of Ordinance, 4 Case of Drakes, & above 40 Carriages of Amunition.

Upon Munday Aug: 28, Capt: Crox[t]on, & Capt: Venables (both afterwards Colonels) with their Companyes & others, went to Dirtwich, & cut in Peices all their Pumps, Salt-Pits & Works, & carried away some of their Pans: whereby all their Salt making was spoiled, whereby they found Shrewsbury, Wales, & many other Places of the king's Party with Salt: & a Provocation hereunto

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[1] Captain or Colonell Thomas Croxton of Ravenscroft, co. Cheshire.

[2] Captain Venables, afterwards Governor of Chester; he was sent by Cromwell as General of the Forces, together with Admiral Penn, against Hispaniola and Jamaica.—(*Civil War Tracts*, p. 354. Chet. Soc. Pub., vol. ii.)

[3] *Dirtwich* or *Foulwich* is near the southern border of Cheshire, in Broxton Hundred.

& many of theire quarte[rs], Salte. The Lord Caple [Capell] havinge before made p'clamacon that non shold fetche any Salte from Namptwiche. [1643]

*Eccleshall Castle releeved.* On Tuesday the xxix[th] of the same August, *The Lord Capell, Colonell Hastinges* w[th] great forces releeved Eccleshall Castle, being then kepte by the Kinges ptie.; & broughte in greate store of p[r]vision w[th] theim in Seyven Cartes, w[ch] they had entended to have Laden w[th] Treasure & goods & carryed the same w[th] theim awaye. They then carryed awaye w[th] theim the Ladies and gentlewomen & the cheefe captyn. But some of the Garrison & soldye[rs] for the p'liam[t] from Stafford, quartring there in Eccleshall Towne (in assaulte agaynst the Castle) fledd into the Churche, from whence they soe annoyed the Kinges ptie., that they durst not doe what they intended. And hearing that Colonell Brereton (whoe was then att Stafford) w[th] his forces weire marchinge towards theim, they all suddenly fledd awaye (w[th] very litle of the Castle goods); onelie the[y] carryed the dead bodie of the

was, that the Lord Capell had made Proclamation, that none within his Comand should fetch Salt from Nantwich.

Upon Tuesday Aug: 29, the Lord Capel, Coll: Hastings, with other great Forces, releived Eccleshall Castle, being then in the Keeping of the King's Party, & brought in great Store of Provision, took away the Ladies & Gentlewomen, & the cheif Capt: with them, having 7 Carts which they had prest, to carry away the Goods & Treasure which was there. But some of Stafford Forces, lying in Garrison in Eccleshall Town, to assault the Castle, fled into the Church, where they shot at them so fiercely, that they hindred their Design for the Present: & hearing that Sir W[m]. Brereton, & his Forces, which then were at Stafford, were marching upon them, they all fled away (with but little of the Castle'

[1643] *Bishop* [*Wright*] *of Coventry & Lichfield*, who died in the Castle, w^th^ theim soe farr as the Bridge, intendynge to haue carryed him away w^th^ theim: But theire flight & feare. was soe sudden & greate, that the[y] left the Bodie of the Bishopp & most of what they carryed furthe of the Castle behind theim, havinge then putt in a newe Captyn theire, who Injoyed his place but a smale whyle. Stafford forces, p'ceyvinge they weire fledd, fell p'sentlie vpon the Castle & assaulted the same w^th^ such Courage & vyolence, That on Wednesday the xxx^th^ of August 1643, (beinge the nexte day afterwards) The[y] made a breache on the Draw Bridge & pte. of the Castle,[1] w^ch^ the Captyn p'ceyving, sounded a ply. [parley], seeinge he was not able (havinge but a smale company) to defend ytt; wherevpon ytt was concluded that the Captyn shold p^r^sentlie deliv[er] up the Castle, and hee & his Soldye^rs^ depte. [depart] w^th^ theire Armes onelie, w^ch^ p^r^sentlie was p^r^formed. And the p'liam^t^ forces, entring the Castle peaceablie,

& having carried the dead Body of the B^p^. of Coventry & Lichfield so far as the Draw Bridge, thinking to have carried him away, their Flight & Fear was so sudden & great, that they left it behind them; & almost all the Money, Plate, Treasure, Amunition & Goods, having put in a new Captain. But Stafford Forces seeing them fled, fell upon the Castle, & assaulted it with such Violence & Courage, that on Wednesday Aug: 30, a Breach was made upon the Drawbridge, & Part of the Castle; which the new Captain perceaving, Sounded a Parley, & so they came to Terms of Agreement: viz: That He & his Souldiers should depart with their Arms. And so the Castle was presently yeilded

[1] All that now remains of Eccleshall Castle, formerly the seat of the bishops of the diocese, is an ivy-covered tower, and some foundations.

found in the same ffourtie Barrells of Beere, greate store of p'vision, & in howsehold goods Rich appell, [apparel] money, plate & other thinges (as most thoughte) to the valewe of Ten Thowsand poundes; wch was all seazed by Colonell Brereton & deliu'ed into his custodye & disposall: whoe thereupon retorned to Namptwiche, where hee had left Sr Thomas Midleton & his forces, where they all contynued vntill Thursdaye the xiiijth of September then nexte. [1643]

*The whole Army removed to Wem.* Vppon the xiiij of September 1643 a greate pte. of the p'liamt Army Marched furthe of Namptwiche in the afternoone, & were quartred in Blakenall, Checkley, Dodington & the Townes thereabouts. And vpon ffrydaye the

up: wherein was found 40 Barrels of Beer, great Store of Provision, Money, Plate & other Kind of Wealth, to the Value of 10,000l, (as was computed) which was all delivered to, & seized on by Sir Wm. Brereton, who, with his good Booty, returned to Nantwich, where he had left Sir: Tho Middleton, with his Forces; where they all continued till Tuesday Sept: 4.* [*sic* for Thursday, Sept. 14.]

Upon which very Day, [Sept: 14] in the Afternoon, a great Part of the Army marched forth of the Town, & were quartered in Blakenall, Chekley, Doddington, & the adjacent Places: & upon

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* "Rob: Wright Bp. of Lichfeild, who had been Warden of Wadham College & Bp. of Bristol, probably died a Day or 2 before this Surrender: for thus says the Continuator of Bp. Goodwin, p. 326. 'Inde [viz: a Custodiâ] liberatus, sed omni Officio et Beneficio exutus, ad Villam Episcopalem de Eccleshall in Agro Staffordiensi secessit, eamque contra Perduelles ad Extremum usque defendit, obiit sub Exitum Augusti 1643, ibique sepultus jacet.' It is most likely, that after the Surrender, the Bishop's Body was buried in the Parish Church." (*Cole.*)

[1643] nexte daye after, *Colonell Brereton, S^r Thomas Middleton* & all the rest of the Army (excepte the trayned band of Namptw^ch Hundred & some Soldye^rs w^ch laye in garrison att Cholmley) marched furthe of Towne, w^th all S^r Thomas Middletons ordnance & drakes, vnto whome all the rest (quartred furthe of Towne before) resorted. And the nexte Nighte, The[y] quartred att Drayton & in all the Townes & villages thereabouts, keepinge theire Randevous theire vntill Tuesdaye nexte followinge. And then, sending furthe theire warrants, they called In all that Countrey thereabouts to a Gen'all Muster; & contynued att Drayton vntill ffrydaye the xxij of Septemb[er] nexte followinge. And then all the whole Armye marched thence to Wem and fortefyed that Towne, quartring theire Army in all the Townes & places nexte adioynynge.

*Lappington Battell.*[1] On Thursdaye the xxviij^th of September 1643, *Captyn Bromehall* w^th his company & some othe^rs, beinge quartred at Lappington about

Friday, the day after, Sir W^m. Brereton, Sir Tho: Middleton, with their Forces (except the Trained Band of Nantwich Hundred, & some others, which lay in Garrison in Cholmley,) marched after them, with all Sir Tho: his Ordinance, & Drakes, & they went the same Night to Drayton, & were billited there, & in all the Towns & Places adjoining, keeping their Rendevouz there till Tuesday following, when they called in all the Countrey to a generall Muster, & continued at Drayton till Friday Sept: 22; & then the whole Camp marched to Wem & fortefied that Town, quartering the Souldiers in all the Towns & Places thereabouts.

[1] See also Vicars, *God's Ark*, p. 64.

twoe myles from Wem, weire assaulted by the Kinges ptie., beinge (as was supposed) in nu'ber twoe thowsand. But Captyn Bromehall, w^th^standinge theim soe longe as hee cold, was inforced w^th^ his Soldye^rs^ and the reste of that companye to flye into the Churche, beinge not able to w^th^stande theim vntill Ayde came from Wem, from whence releafe came as fast as the[y] cold; But not soe speedylie but that the Kinges ptie. had fyred the Churche before releafe came; And by that meanes enforced theim in the Churche to yssue furthe, where *Captyn Bromehall, Thomas Maynwaringe* (his Ensigne), *Seriant Turner,* & some othe^rs^ weire taken p^r^sone^rs^; And a Lieften^t^ Colonell of S^r^ Thomas Midletons & some fewe hurte & three slayne. And of the Kinges ptie., a *sonne* of the *Lord Kilmorreyes,* a *brother* of *S^r^ Vyncett Corbett* & some othe^rs^ of theim taken p^r^sone^rs^, and some slayne (but the certyn nu'ber was not knowne); w^ch^ was vpon the releafe comynge from Wem & settinge vpon theim, where was a longe [1643]

Upon Thursday in the Afternoon,Capt: Bromhall, with his Company, & some others, came to Lappington, 2 Miles from Wem, & were assaulted by the Enemy, being 2000, or thereabout, whom they kept in Play for a Time, but at last were enforct to take the Church, & before Aid could come from Wem, the Enemy fired the Church, & by that Means forc't them out: & upon their issuing, Capt: Bromhall, Tho: Mainwaring his Ensign, & some few others were taken Prisoners; a Lieut: Coll: of Sir Tho: Middleton's, & some few more hurt, & 3 slain of the Enemy, a Son of the Lord Killmoryes, a Brother of Sir Vincent Corbet's, & divers others were taken Prisoners, & some slain. And this happened upon the Forces coming from Wem, & encountring the Enemy: for a hot Skirmish then befell them, which lasted about

[1643] battell contynueinge aboue three howers. But Nighte beinge vpon theim, the Kinges ptie., beinge sowly [sorely] Rowted & Scattered, fledd.

*Trayned bandes marched to Wem.* On ffrydaye, beinge Mychelmas daye, the Trayned bandes of Nampt-wiche hundred marched towards Wem, in assistance of the p'liam$^{t}$ forces theire, w$^{th}$ a case of Drakes; & quartred the first Nighte att Drayton, & the nexte after at Wem. And thence contynued makinge the workes & fortefyinge the Towne: And many tymes salied furthe & gave Allaroms vpon Shrowesbury, faceing theim in the Towne and temptinge theim to a sett Battell; But they ever fledd & wold not fight.

*Lord Capell marchinge to Namptwiche.* On Saturdaye the xiiij$^{th}$ of October 1643, Intelligence was sente to Nampt-wiche that the *Lord Capell* w$^{th}$ very greate forces, to the nu'ber of three thowsand and more, vij score Carryages, three greate peeces of Ordnance & a

2 Hours, the King's Party being about 2000, the Parliament's not above 600, as the Relation was; but Night coming, the Enemy being sorely beaten & scattered, fled, & Wem Forces had the better.

Upon Friday, being Michaelmas Day, the Trained Bands of Nantwich Hundred marched towards Wem, to aid the Parliament Forces there, with one Case of Drakes; lodg'd the first Night at Drayton, the 2$^{d}$. at Wem, whither they came in Safety, fortifying the Town, & many Times sallying out, & giving Alarms upon Shrewsbury, provoking the Enemies to Battle: but they had no Mind to it.

Upon Saturday 14 Oct: the Report came to Nantwich, That the Lord Capell, with very great Forces, to the Number of 3000 & more, & 140 Carriages with their great Ordinance, & a Mortar

Morter peece, weire agayne comynge agaynst the [1643]
Towne. The Townesmen, especiallie the howsholders, & many others besides the Gardes, (wch weire doubled) did watche all Nighte. But hard [heard] noe more of theim; but that they weire quartred att Whitchurche, Combermeyre, Marburye, Norbury, Burleydam & the places thereabouts. Vpon Sondaye mornynge theire was an Alaram in Towne; wch did muche affrighte theim (but wthout cause). On Sondaye nighte a greate Garde was sett in Towne; but all was quyett; But on Mondaye the xvjth of October 1643 about one a Clocke in thafternoone, the said Lord was advanced to Acton wth all theire Army, & Carryages, before any intelligence came to Towne: Then some Dragoners & twoe foote companyes yssued furthe of Towne towardes theim att Acton, & fyred upon theim, & did dryve theim into Acton Churche, wch some of theim tooke for saufeguard; but many of the rest tooke Derfold Howse. But by reason the Enymy had taken those two stronge holds, The townesmen retreated into the Towne; fyred att theim, as the[y] sawe occasion, over the walles. The Enymy dis-

Peice, came against them. Upon which sad News the Townsmen, & many others (besides the Guard which was doubled) sat up all Night; but heard nothing of the Enemy, but that they were at Whitchurch, Cumbermere, Marbury etc.

Upon Munday 16 Oct: about one of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Enemy was gotten to Acton, with all their Army & Carriage, before any Intelligence came to Town: whereupon 2 Companyes of Foot & some Dragooners issued forth towards Acton, fired upon the Enemies, & drave them into the Church, which they took for Safety. Some of them also took Deerfold House: in which Places being sheltered, the Nantwich Forces

[1643] persed theim selves into the fields, & downe Henhull Lane to Beamebridge, contynuallie shootinge att the Towne w^th^ theire musketts, to smale purpose; but came not neere the walles; w^ch^ the Townesmen p^r^ceyvinge, some well spirited men of the Towne, vpon their owne accorde, w^th^out any com'and, leaped over the walles w^th^ theire musketts well charged, & Ran disorderlie towards theim; fyringe vpon theim; & the Enymy the lyke on theim agayne all one afternoone; vntil almost Nighte, that the Enymy bothe horse & foote fled, some of theim beinge slayne & aboute sixe or eighte of theim taken p^r^son^rs^: & soe for that tyme all [was] quyett on bothe sides. That Nighte all the Townesmen, & Countrey men w^ch^ came In to Ayde the Towne, beinge greate Company bothe of men & horse, Did all watch att the Walles; (the Enymy beinge then att Acton & Derfold); They expectinge howerlie to bee assaulted by the Enymy, & that they wold fall upon the Towne: but vpon Tuesdaye mornynge, when a greate assault was expected to haue byn made by the Enymy, worde

were fain to retreat, firing at them, as Occasion served, over the Wall: for the Enemy disperst themselves into the Fields, & down Henhull Lane, to Beambridge, continually shooting at the Town; but came not near the Walls: which the Townsmen perceaving, some few active Men, of their own Accord, leaped over the Walls with their Musketts, & ran disorderly towards the Enemy, firing one at another all that Afternoon, till towards Night; & then the Enemy fled, both Horse & Foot, some being slain, & 8 or 9 taken Prisoners: so all was quiet on both Sides.

At Night all the Townsmen, & Country Men, which came in for the Aid of the Town, being a great Number of Horse & Foot, watched carefully at the Wall, expecting hourly when the Enemy

was broughte to the Towne that the Enymy, (very manfullie), weire all fledd & gonne awaye about midnight; w^ch^ was att the first not credited; but p^r^ved trewe: About vij a Clocke on Tuesdaye mornynge *Colonell Brereton, S^r^ Thomas Middleton, & Colonell Greaves,* w^th^ almost all theire Armes marched to Namptwiche, (exceptinge a Considerable nu'ber lefte behind theire att Wem, for saufegarde thereof,) to haue releeved and Ayde[d] the Towne (not hearinge of the Enymyes dep'ture); And beinge come thether & the Enymy fled, they sente after theim some forces, whoe tooke about fourtie of the meane^r^ sorte of the Enymy p^r^soner^s^ (the best weire fledd), whiche was all the Enymy then lost, savinge three slayne att Acton; And soe (by Gods mercy) the Towne was then p^r^served w^th^out losse of any one, savinge two shott in the Armes, thoughe not muche the worse.[1] [1643]

would assault the Town, being so near as Acton & Deerfold. And on Tuesday Morning, when a great Assault was feared, Tidings came to the Town, that the Enemy was marched away; which at first was not credited: but it proved true: they went away about Midnight.

That Morning Coll: Brereton, Sir Tho: Middleton, & Coll: Greaves, with almost all the Army, (save those that were left at Wem, for the Safeguard thereof) came to aid Nantwich, (not hearing of the Enemyes Departure,) & presently sent Forces after them, who brought in about 40 Prisoners of the meaner Sort, (for the best escap'd,): & so the Town was preserved, without the Loss of any Man.

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[1] Another account of this assault is contained in a small quarto tract of 6 pp., entitled "*Shropshires Misery and Mercie manifested in the defeat given to the Lord Capels . . . . Armie by the Forces of Cheshire and Shropshire* . . . . London, Nov. 8, 1643."—as follows:—

[1643] *Wem beseiged.*[1] Vppon Wednesdaye Eveninge, St. Lukes Daye [Oct. 18] *Colonell Brereton* havinge intelligence that the Kinges p'tie had beseiged Wem, drewe all his Army, townesmen, & other^rs^ to marche to Wem, In releefe of that towne; But comynge to Preece Heathe in Shropshire, hee

Upon Wednesday, being St. Luke's Day, Coll: Brereton hearing that the Enemy had beseiged Wem, drew out the Army & Townsmen to releive it: but coming to Preesheath, they were

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"That when they [*i.e.* the Lord Capell's forces from Shrewsbury, &c.] all came against *Namptwich* upon Munday *October* 16 [1643] they were so confident of surprizing the same as that the Lord Capel (as it is reported) returned backe all the *Chester* horse, which were tendered unto him and coming to his assistance, returning this answer, that he had strength sufficient to take *Namptwich*, to which end he did speedily (& that before notice was given of his aproach) seize upon and possesse himselfe of *Acton* Church and *Dartford* [Dorfold] house, and attempted to force theire passage by the way of Beamebridge, but by the valour of those few men who were left in the Town they were repulsed from passing the water, not without the losse of divers of theire men: Foure whereof were found dead in the ditch: those that attempted to undermine the walls in the darknesse of the night were taken prisoners, and this night, and the next morning there were nere forty prisoners taken, besides many horses and Armes, and many of their men run away: And upon the newes of our aproach to their reliefe, they sent away their cariages, and marched after them with speed towards *Wem*."

"This was the fifth time they did come before and attempt this poore Town of *Namptwich*, which the Lord hath miraculously preserved and defended, and returned them allwayes backe with shame and dishonour."

N.B.—This account is reprinted *verbatim* by Vicars, *God's Ark*, vol. iii., p. 64. Printed, London, 1646.

[1] Lord Capell's tactics appear to have been to attack Nantwich and so prevent Brereton from joining Middleton and Mytton at Wem; and thus give time for further reinforcements from the South to come to Wem. Vicars, in *God's Ark*, pp. 62-67, gives a detailed account of this manœuvre, and the skirmishes at Lappington, Wem and Leigh Bridge. See also Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 86-88.

was informed that the Kinges p'tie had made a fierce assaulte vpon Wem, vnto the very Walles, But weire beaten of[f] w^th^ greate losse; where was in theire Company, *Colonell Wynn, Captyn Ellys,* [of Oswestry] *Captyn Wynn, Captyn Johnes,* & many other Cavaliers, whereof about a hundred weire slayne. And the Kinges Army marchinge from Wem towards Shrowesbury, Colonell Brereton's forces hearinge thereof, by scouts sente furthe, marched towards Leighe Bridge late in the Evenynge; where they weire enformed the Kinges ptie. was, and had taken theire ground to the greate disadvantage of the p'liam^t^ forces: and Namptwiche forces, not beinge acquynted w^th^ the place, & the Evenynge begynynge to growe darke, The[y] fyred on bothe sides, one att the othe^r^, w^ch^ contynued for a great space, where the Namptwiche forces lost three comon Soldye^rs^, but (as reported by the Neighbourhood) the Kinges side lost fyfteene, besides *Captyn Chapman* & some othe^rs^ taken p^r^sone^rs^. The Kinges ptie. flyinge, Colonell Brereton [1643]

*Battell at Leighe Bridge.*

informed that the Enemy had made a fair Assault upon the Town, coming up to the very Wall, but was taken of[f] with great Loss. Coll: Wyn, Capt: Win, Capt: Ellis, Capt: Jones, & many others to the Number of 100, were slain. Upon this Loss, they marched from Wem to Shrewsbury: which the Parliamenteers hearing of, by their Scouts, followed after, & overtook them at Lee-Bridge, late in the Evening: for there they had pitch'd themselves, & taken the Ground to their own Advantage: it began to grow dark, yet they fired one upon another presently: 3 were slain on the Parliament Side, & 15 of the King's; besides Capt: Chapman, & some others taken Prisoners. The Royalists fled to Shrews-

643] & his soldye[rs] had the pillage of the fielde, & they w[th] greate shame and confusion fledd into Shrowesbury, & Colonell Brereton & his forces that Nighte marched to Wem; The nexte Nighte after to Whitchurche, where the Towne was putt to ccc[li]. [£300] Ransome, beinge a Cavalier place, to save ytt from plu'dring. And from thence the nexte daye afterwards, a greate parte of theim marched to Namptwiche; And some of the horse goinge towards Chester they tooke Eleaven p[r]sone[rs] att Churton w[th] some of the forlorn hope[1] before the horse came vp: And then pursuynge theim they came to Audford [Aldford], where they tooke *Captyn Davenporte,* (w[ch] had broken prison att Namptwiche) *Captyn Lieftent[t] Harte, Cornett Leighe, Cornett Maynwaringe, Cornet Healey, Ensigne Thornycrofte,* a quarter maister, a surgeon, yonge *m[r] Tannatt*

*Pr'sone[rs] att Churton & Audford [Aldford].*

bury, & the Parliamenteers to Wem, after they had pillaged the Field. From Wem they came to Whitchurch the next Night, & put the Town to 300[l] Ransome, to save them from Plundering. The next Day, most of the Army came to Nantwich, except some Horse, which went towards Chester: & at Churton, the Forlorn Hope took 11 Prisoners before the Rest came up: they pursued forward to Alford, where they took Capt: Davenport, who had broken Prison at Nantwich, Capt: Lieut: Hart, Cornet Lee, Cornet Mainwaring, Cornet Healey, Ensign Thornicroft, a

[1] "*Forlorn hopes*" were small bodies of infantry or cavalry, composed mainly of musketeers, sometimes with additional pikemen, that were sent in front of the main body, with the intention of delaying the advance of the enemy by their fire.

of Broxton, *Captyn Leighe* & his Lieften[t] wounded, [1643]
but not taken, some soldye[rs] slayne, & dyvers comon soldye[rs] taken p[r]sone[rs] vpon ffrydaye the xx[th] of October 1643.

Vpon Saturdaye the xxj[st] of October, They were all broughte p[r]sone[rs] to Namptwiche, whither the Reste of the Army retorned: non[e] of Namptwiche forces neither slayne nor wounded, savinge one *Bulkeley*, a comon soldy[er], w[ch] was taken plu'dring in Audford p[r]sone[r] by the Enemy, by reason hee did not marche away w[th] his fellows.

*S[r] Edw[d] Broughton &[c] his 2 Sonnes p[r]sone[rs].*

On Mondaye morninge the xxiij of October, some of *S[r] Thomas Midletons* troupe, w[th] some other of the Companyes in Namptwiche marched furthe of Towne into Wales, and broughte in *S[r] Edward Broughton* and twoe of his sonnes p[r]sone[rs] to Namptwiche from theire owne howse.

*Holte taken firste tyme.*[1]

On Tuesday the vij of November *Colonell Brereton* & *S[r] Thomas midleton* w[th] theire Companyes bothe horse & foote marched

Quarter Master, a Surgeon; Capt: Lee & his Lieut: wounded, but not taken; 4 Souldiers slain, & divers comon Souldiers taken. This was upon Friday; & on Saturday they were all brought to Nantwich. None of the Parliament Souldiers were either taken or hurt: only one Buckley was taken Prisoner, staying behind his Fellows to plunder in Alford.

Upon Munday Morning, Oct: 23. some of Sir Tho: Middleton's Troops, & others went into Wales, & fetch'd in Sir Edw: Broughton, from his own House & 2 of his Sons, & brought them Prisoners to Nantwich.

[1] See also Vicars, *God's Ark*, p. 84.

[1643] forthe of Namptwiche agayn towards Wales. The firste Nighte they quartred att woodhey, Ridley, & thereabouts: on Wednesdaye the viij$^{th}$ of November 1643, they marched forward & quartred att Barton-on-the-hill, Stretton, & the Countrey thereabouts, where they had Alaram gyven theim by the Kinges ptie. at Holte;[1] but they drave them backe, & slewe some of theim w$^{th}$out any losse. And vpon Thursdaye, Lancashire forces came & Joyned w$^{th}$ the p'liam$^{t}$ forces & marched altogether to Holte, & ymedyatelie fell vpon the same. And by one a Clocke in thafter noone (throughe a pollicie) wonn the Brydge & (by gods assistance) a litle after, the Towne; w$^{th}$out losse of any man; Althoughe the Kinges forces weire in horse supposed to bee about one Thowsand, & theire foote vij hundred, yett notw$^{th}$standinge they all fledd; And oure foote followinge them in p'suite, fell upon theire Arere [rear] of horse, & tooke *Captyn Preece, Captyn Johnes,* &

Upon Tuesday, Nov: 7. Coll: Brereton & Sir Tho: Middleton, with their Companyes, marcht forth of Nantwich, towards The Holt, which was then a Garrison for the King: the first Night they quartered at Woodhey & thereabout.

Upon Wednesday they advanct forward toward the Enemy, & quarter'd at Barton on the Hill, Stretton, & thereabouts, where they had an Alarm given them by the Holt Souldiers, whom they drave back, & slew some of them, without Loss or Hurt of any Man.

Upon Thursday, Lancashire Forces met with those of Cheshire, & joyning together, set upon The Holt, & by one of the Clock in the Afternoon, through good Policy won the Bridge & Town without Loss of any. The Enemy was supposed to be 1000

[1] *Obs.* Burghall speaks of Holt town as "*The Holt*"; just as the township of Hough, near Nantwich, is still called, by Cheshire people, *The Hough.*

*Lieuften^t^ Salusbury* p^r^sone^rs^, w^ch^ weire sent to [1643] Namptwiche, w^th^ many othe^rs^ taken p^r^sone^rs^, & Some of theim slayne, & the Rest rowted & scattred.

*Hardern [i.e. Hawarden Castle] taken.*

On Thursdaye Nighte [Nov. 9] after they had taken Holte & left a considerable ptie. theire, They marched to wrixam [Wrexham]; where they weire well entertayned, & quartred theire that Nighte; And the nexte daye marchinge furthe^r^ into Wales tooke Harden Castle, & putt therein a Garrison; And, contynueing in Wales, the gentry & Com'onaltie submitted theim selves & Joyned w^th^ theim, soe that the Army was greatly encreased; where for a tyme the[y] remayned.

*Battell at Tarvin.*

On Sonday the xij^th^ of November 1643, the Kinges forces yssued furthe of Chester & marched towards Tarvin, where *Captyn Gerrard* & the p'liam^t^ forces laye in Garrison soe farr as Stanford Bridge, but weire backed by Captyn Gerrard & his forces, soe that they cold not enter the Bridge; but fyringe on bothe sides, the on[e] att

Horse and 700 Foot, who, upon the taking of the Town & Castle, fled: the Parliamenteers pursued, & took Capt: Price, Capt: Jones, Lieut: Salsbury.

That Night Sir W^m^. Brereton, Sir Tho: Middleton, & the Army (leaving a considerable Strength in The Holt) marched all to Wrexham, where they quartered that Night: & afterwards marching farther into Wales; where the Gentry & Comonalty came in, submitting themselves to the Parliament. So the Army was greatly encreast.

Upon Sunday Nov: 12, Chester Forces issued out, & came towards Tarven; (garrison'd by the Parliament Forces, & kept by Capt: Gerrard:) but they were fought with at the Bridge beyond

[1643] the othe[r] all that after noone *Captyn*[1] ——— w[th] some forces came from Cholm'ley Garrison, & Joyned w[th] Captyn Gerrard whoe then did beate Chester forces backe, w[oh] fledd towards Chester; but Captyn Gerrard and his company, & the reste did follow theim to the Gorstacks, (at the Citie ende) & slewe some of theim, & then marched backe to Tarvyn w[th]out losse of any, onelie one a little wounded.

*Parliam[t] forces retorned furthe of Wales.*

*Colonell Brereton* & the reste of the P'liam[t] forces remaynynge in Wales, where they p'[ro]spered well (havinge many gent. and othe[rs] resortinge vnto theim); But havinge intelligence that greate forces weire come from Ireland & landed in Wales to the nu'ber of twoe thowsand & fyve hundred; They all marched backe agayne to Holte; and on ffryday the xxiiij[th] of November sente theire Ordnance backe to Namptwiche; And vpon Saturday they all marched, some to Namptwiche, other some to Northwiche, & Lancashire men into Lancashire w[th] all

Tarven, & kept from passing it. They were skirmishing all that Afternoon; but when some Souldiers came from Cholmley to assist Gerrard, they drove Chester Forces back, & followed them to Boughton, where the Gorse Stakes are; kill'd some of them, without any Loss to themselves, save only one Man hurt.

The parliament Army remaining in Wales, many Gentlemen & others resorted to them; so that it encreased & prosper'd exceedingly: untill hearing of great Forces landed out of Ireland, both English & Irish, to the Number of 2500, as conceaved, they all retired back to Holt: & upon Friday Nov: 24 sent their Ordinance back to Nantwich: & Nov: 26, the whole Army followed: the Nantwich Souldiers going to their own Garrison, & Lancashire

[1] *Obs.* Burghall does not supply the name of this Captain.

theire Carryage w^th^out either fighte or battell w^th^ the Enymy, leavinge Harden Castle vnreleeved; wherein was *M^r^ Ince* a faythfull Mynister & firme for the p'liam^t^, and about one hundred and twentie Soldyers in greate daunger to haue byn destroyed, & lykewise many other frends, gent., & othe^rs^ in Wales, w^ch^ had byn aydinge vnto theim, lefte all to the mercy of the bloddy Irish Rebells. But the falte was in Lancashire Soldye^rs^ w^ch^ wold not staye.[1] [1643]

*Harden Castle deliu'd to the Kinge.*[2]

Vpon or about the third of December 1643 Harden Castle was deliu'ed vp to the Kinges ptie. in Chester upon composi'con, *viz.:* That the[y] shold dep'te w^th^ one Colo^r^ flyinge & the other Rowled vp, w^th^

Forces going Home, no Enemy appearing any where to disturb them.

'Twas a Wonder that they made such Haste, as not to relieve Harden Castle, a strong Hold, lately taken: only they left one, M^r^. Ince, an able & faithfull Minister, & about 120 Souldiers in it, with small Provision, & in great Danger. 'Twas alsoe thought strange, that they would leave Wales, which was in a Manner quite subdued a little before, and so many good Friends who had come to them, were left to the Mercy of the Enemy.

Dec: 3. Harden Castle was delivered up to the Chester Forces upon fair Terms, tho' not in all Things performed: for whereas the Souldiers should have marcht away safely, it fell out, that those

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[1] A Tract entitled *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 21, p. 164, Dec. 18, 1643, quoted in *Civil War Tracts* (Chet. Soc. Pub.), p. 152, says:— "The Manchester men are returned home to divert General Kinges design either against Manchester or into Cheshire."

[2] See a scarce tract entitled "An Addition to the Relation of some Passages about the English-Irish Army, before they came to the siege at Namptwich, wherein are set downe the Occurrences at *Hawarden Castle*, 1643," 12 pp. 4to (*penes me*).

[1643] halfe of theire Armes, & some Truncks & goods; w$^{ch}$ was p'formed. But some of theim w$^{ch}$ came furthe of the Castle, in theire retorne homewards towards Wrixam [Wrexham], weire crewelly vsed by some Welshmen, whoe did beate & wound some of theim, slewe other some, & tooke the Wates [?] & Clothes from other some. But the fyfte of December, the foresaid *m$^{r}$ Ince*, and some of the Soldye$^{rs}$, came saufe to Namptwiche. On Saturdaye mornynge the ix$^{th}$ of December 1643, vj of the Irishe Soldye$^{rs}$ did over Run[1] theim from Chester, & come to Namptwiche w$^{th}$ theire Armes, where they weire entertayned.

who travelled towards Wrexham, were cruelly used by the Welshmen, who beat & wounded some, & slew others, & took their Cloaths from them.

Dec: 5. M$^{r}$. Ince, & some of the Souldiers with him, came safe to Nantwich: the Day after, 6 of the Irish Souldiers over-ran them from Chester with their Arms, & were entertained at Nantwich.

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[1] That is, six soldiers deserted the Irish Army, and were welcomed at Nantwich. Though the Army was popularly believed to have been Irishmen, it was for the most part, if not altogether, composed of Englishmen. There may have been many more deserters, for, being English, many of the soldiers were only half-hearted in the King's cause; and as soon as they were attacked by the cavalry of Fairfax, yielded without much resistance; and, being taken prisoners at Nantwich on Jan. 25th, "many of them" (about 800, it is said) "took up arms for the Parliament" (Malbon *postea*). This is corroborated by letters written by Byron to Ormond; in one of which he says:—"I wish they were rather Irish than English, for the English we have already are very mutinous, and being for the most part this-countrymen (*i.e.* Cheshire and Shropshire men) are so poisoned by the ill-affected people here, that they grow very cold in this service." Jan. 30th. (Quoted in Gardiner's *Civil War*, vol. i., p. 347.)

*Beeston Castle deliu'ed to the Kinge.*

On Wednesday morninge the xiij$^{th}$ of December 1643, a litle before Daye, and after the Moon was sett, *Captyn Sandford* w$^{th}$ viij of his fyerlocks, (beinge in the Kinges ptie.) gott into the vpper warde of Beeston Castle, by a byeway, throughe treachery, as was supposed. For a little after hee was entred, *Thomas Steele*, then gou'nor of the said Castle, after a shorte ply. [parley] betwixt theim, Receyved Sandford into his Lodginge in the Lower warde, (beinge a very stronge. hold), where they Dyned together, & much Beere was sente up into the heigher warde, by the said Steele vnto Sandfords Soldye$^{rs}$; And, after dyn$^{r}$, an Agreem$^{t}$ was made betwixt theim, That Steele shold deliu$^{r}$ vpp the Castle w$^{th}$ all am'unycon, goods, p'vision, & what els, p$^{r}$sently to the said Captyn Sandford: hee & his Soldye$^{rs}$ beinge about three score to dpte. [depart] away, onelie w$^{th}$ theire Colo$^{rs}$ & Armes; w$^{ch}$ was wickedly [1643]

On Wednesday Morning, a little before Day, Dec: 13, Capt: Sandford, who came out of Ireland, with 8 of his Firelocks, crept up the steep Hill of Beeston Castle, & got into the Inner Ward & took Possession there. It must needs be done by Treachery: for the Place was most impregnable. Capt: Steel, who kept it for the Parliament, was accused, & suffered for it: but it was verily thought, that he had not wilfully betrayed it; but some of his Souldiers proving false, had not Courage enough to withstand Sandford, or try it out with him. That which made much against Steel was, that he took Sandford down into his Chamber, where they dined together; & much Beer was sent up to Sandford's Men, & the Castle, upon a short Parley, delivered; Steel & his Souldiers having Liberty to march with their Arms & Colours, to Nantwich: which accordingly he did.

[1643] & treacherouslie p'formed by the said Captyn Steele. And the same daye att Nighte, they all came to Namptwiche, where the said Steele was p^rsentlie ymprissoned, and Kepte closse for feare the soldy^rs in the Towne, (w^ch did Rise in greate multitudes) wolde haue killed him. Theire was in the said Castle muche wealthe, & goods of gent. & othe^r neighbour^s, broughte thether for saufety to a greate value, w^ch the Enymy had, besides halfe a yeres p'vision, att the leaste.

*A Skrimage att Burford.*

The same daye att Nighte, & almost eu'y Night afterwards & eu'y daye, the Kinges ptie. gave Alarams vpon the Towne vntill Sondaye nexte afterwards.

On Sondaye mornynge, att Sermon tyme, The Kinges ptie. was advauncing towards the Towne & gaue theim an Alaram. The Captyns wente from Churche & drewe all theire Soldye^rs together, w^th *Seriant maior Lothian*: And some of the horse advanced to Burfoote [Burford] neere Acton, where

But as soon as he was come into the Town, the Souldiers were so enraged against him, that they would have pull'd him in Peeces, had he not been got away presently, & clappt into Prison. There was much Wealth & Goods in the Castle of Gentlemens, & other Neighbors, who had brought it thither for Safety: besides Ammunition & Provision for Halfe a Yeare at least: all which the Enemy had.

The same Day at Night, & every Day after till Sabbath Day following, they had Alarms given them at Nantwich, by the Enemy. Upon Sabbath Day at Sermon Time, they heard that the Enemy was advancing towards them: whereupon the Capt: & Souldiers, with Serjeant Major Lothian that led them, went forth of the Town, as hearing that the Enemy was at Burford which is about a Mile

the Kinges ptie. was; & fallinge vpon some of theire horse (before the foote cold bee drawne together) some of the Kinges ptie. weire slayne, other some wounded, and some horse & men taken p^r^sone^rs^ (not w^th^out losse on the other side); And the said Seriant maior Lothian was taken p^r^sone^r^ by theim before the foote companyes cold come from the Towne unto theim, (althoughe they made a greate speed). But they weire fledd, soe that the foote Soldye^rs^ had noe sighte of theim. But on the same Sonday att Nighte they gave the Towne another Alaram, Soe that from the tyme the Castle was lost, vntill that tyme, the Towne was neu' [never] in quyett; neither did they goe to Bed either daye or nighte. [1643]

*The beginninge of the greate siege agaynst Namptwiche.*

The Kinges forces advanced towards the Towne of Namptwiche vnto Stoke, Hurleston, Brynley, Wrenbury, and all the Countrey thereabouts, Robbinge, Plu'dringe, & takinge eu'y mans goods, all the next weeke after: vntill ffrydaye the

from Nantwich. They drew towards them, & before the Foot could come up, they charged some of the Enemyes Horse, slew some, & wounded others, & took some Prisoners: yet not without a great Loss to the Town: for Major Lothian, a discreet & valiant Man, was taken Prisoner by them: & when the Foot was coming up, they fled: & yet that night gave an Alarm to the Town: which, from the taking of Beeston till then, had no Rest, Day or Night, but were upon their Watch continually.

The Enemy now drawing nearer to the Town, spread themselves into Stoke, Hurleston, Brindley, Wrenbury, & all the Country about, robbing and plundering every where, the Week after, till

[1643] xxij of December 1643: Vpon w^ch^ daye they passed ou' [over] the River of Weever to Aldelem, Hankelow, Buerton, Hatherton, Blakenhall, Wibunbury & all the reste of the Townes thereabouts. And vpon Saturday the[y] marched to Barthomley, gyvinge an Alaram vpon the Hall of Crewe, wherein Colonell Brereton had placed a Garrison for the Parliam^t^.

*Barthomley Churche.* The Kinges ptie. comynge to Barthomley Churche, did sett upon the same; wherein about xx^tie^ Neighbours where gonne for theire saufegarde. But *maior Connaught*, maior to *Colonell Sneyde*, (whom they in the Churche did take for the *Lord Brereton*,)[1] w^th^ his forces by wyelcome entred the Churche. The people w^th^in gatt up into the Steeple; But the Enymy burnynge formes, pewes, Rushes & the lyke, did smother theim in the Steeple that they weire Enforced to call for quarter, & yelde theim selves; w^ch^ was graunted them by the said Connaught; But when hee had theim in his

Dec: 22, which Day they passed over the River Weever to Audlem, Hankelow, Brewerton Hatherton, & the Towns thereabout. Upon Saturday they came to Bartomley, (giving an Alarm to Crew Hall, which was garrison'd, as they went,) where they set upon the Church, which had in it about 20 Neighbours, that had gone in for Safety. But the Lord Brereton's Troop, & Connought

[1] "*Lord Brereton.*" This was William, second Lord Brereton, of Brereton Hall, Cheshire, a distinguished Royalist serving in Lord Byron's army. He was taken prisoner with his wife and son, at Biddulph Hall, co. Stafford, on 20 Feb., 1643-4; and suffered sequestration of his estates, compounding for them at the excessive price of £1738 18s. He was buried at Brereton, 21st April, 1664, and four of his daughters afterwards resided in Hospital Street, Nantwich, and were buried in the south transept of Nantwich Church. (See Hall's History of Nantwich, p. 213.)

power, hee caused theim all to be stripped starke [1643]
Naked ; And moste barbarouslie & contr'y. [contrary]
to the Lawes of Armes, murthered, stabbed and cutt
the Throats of xij of theim ;[1] viz : *m^r John ffowler*
(Scholem^r), *Henry ffowler, m^r Thomas Elcocke, James*
*Boughey, Randall Hassall, Richard Steele, & Richard*
*Steele,* [*bis*] *Will'm. Steele, George Burrowes, Thomas*
*Hollins, James Butler, & Richard Cawell ;* & wounded
all the reste, leavinge many of theim for Dead. And
on Christmas daye, and S^te. Stevens Daye, the[y]
Contynued plu'dringe & destroyinge all Barthomley,

Major to Coll: Sneyd, set upon them, & won the Church ; the men presently fled into the Steeple : but the Enemy by burning the Forms, Rushes, Mats, & such combustible matter, made such a Smoak, that they being stifled in the Steeple, called for Quarter ; which was granted by Connought. But when they had them in their Power, they stript them all naked, & then most barbarously murthered 12 of them contrary to the Laws of Arms, Nature, & Nations. This cruell Connought cut the Throat of one M^r. John Fowler, a hopefull yong Man, & Minister there. Only 3 of them miraculously escapt with Life, the Rest being cruelly wounded. Upon Christmas Day, & the Day following, they made it their Work to plunder in Bartomley, Crew, Haslington, Sand-

[1] Although Mr. Hinchliffe (Hist. of Barthomley, p. 41-2) attempts to cast suspicion on the accuracy of this account ; it is remarkable that *Lord Byron*, in a letter to the Marquis of Newcastle, dated 26th Dec. 1643, avowed and defended the massacre, saying : "*The Rebels had possessed themselves of a Church at Bartumley, but wee presently beat them forth of it, and put them all to the sword, which I find to be the best way to proceed with their kind of people, for mercy to them is cruelty.*"—(Civil War Tracts, p. 154.) To the same effect it is said in "*Certaine Informations*," No. 52, p. 409, Jan. 15, 1644 : "*We also hear that those Irish have hewed a godly minister in pieces, and so have begun a new Irish massacre in England;*" alluding to this Schoolmaster (who is called "*minister*" by Burghall), the son of the Rev. Richard Fowler, Rector of Barthomley.

[1643] Crewe, Haslington, & the places adiacent takeing all theire goods, victualls, Clothes, and stripped many, bothe men & women, almost naked. And vpon Christmas daye 1643, towards Nighte, another pte. of the Kinges forces, marched to Sandbach, most crewelly plu'dring & spoyling eu'yone [everyone].

*Battell in Bouthe Lane.* On St. Stephens daye [26 Dec.] 1643, The Namptwiche Army, (savinge those lefte to tend the Towne) beinge att or about Middlewiche & Hulmes Chappell, marched towards Sandbach; & in Bouth Lane, neere Middlewiche, mett the Kinges forces; where theire was a greate Battell; but the Parliam[t] side, beinge as ytt seemed not stronge enough, Retyred backe to Middlewych; and the Kinges ptie. in p'suite after theim, did dryve theim awaye, where they lefte theire Magazen, &

bach, & the adjacent Places, taking Mens Goods, Victualls, & Cloaths, stripping many, both Men & Women, naked.*

Upon St. Stephen's Day the Parliament Army (saving those that were left to keep Nantwich) marched towards Middlewich, Holms Chappel, Sandbach, & those Parts, & in Booth Lane met with the Enemy, where there was a great Fight: but in the End the Parliament Forces were worsted, & retired to Middlewich, the Enemy following them, & driving them quite away where the Parliamenteers left their Magazines & 200 Men that were slain, & taken Prisoners. Many were slain and wounded on the other Side.

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* "No Outcry about plundering, robbing and stripping, when the "Godly did the same at Wem, Shrewsbury, Eccleshall, &c. But the "Saints have a peculiar exclusive Privilege to do Mischief. By some "of these Neighbours being wounded in the Church & Steeple, it looks "as if they resisted after crying for Quarter, & that a Skirmish "ensued." (*Cole.*)

many slayne & wounded on bothe sides; ytt was re- [1643]
ported that the pliam[t] ptie. slayne & taken p[r]sone[rs] weire aboute twoe hundred. But what the Kinges ptie. lost was neu'[er] knowne.[1]

*Hall of Crewe yelded to the Enymy.*

A Garrison [being] putt into the Hall of Crewe for the p'liam[t] ptie., The Kinges forces laid greate Seige agaynst the same howse; And on St. Johns Daye[2] [Dec. 27], in Christmas 1643, they in the howse, slewe from the howse about three score of the Kinges ptie., & wounded many; but the Kinges forces encreasinge to a very greate nu'ber, And Namptwiche not able to releave theim, & they in the howse wantinge bothe victualls and Amunycon, vpon Innocents daye [Dec. 28] att Nighte, not able to houlde out any longer, & p'ceyvinge noe Aide comynge to theim, (althoughe as valiant Soldye[rs] as any weire) weire enforced to yeld upp the howse & theim selves p[r]sone[rs] to the Kinges ptie.; havinge quarte[r] gyven theim, and beinge

Crew Hall was a Garrison for the Parliament, & the Royalists laid Seige against it, where they within the House slew 60 & wounded many upon St. John's Day in the Christmas: but wanting Victualls & Ammunition, they were forct to yeald it up the next Day, & themselves, being 136, or more, became Prisoners, stout & valiant Soldiers, having Quarter for Life given them.

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[1] The forces here overpowered and routed by Lord Byron, were "a part of Colonel Ashtons (of Penketh, co. Lanc.) regement from Lancashire, going to assist Sir William Brereton."—*Perfect Diurnal*, No. 25, p. 199.

[2] The old saints' days of the Calendar, St. John's Day, St. Luke's Day, &c., appear to have been remembered by the people of the 17th century; even by the Puritans.

[1643] in theire custodie (to the nu'ber of one hundred or more) weire all putt p[r]sone[rs] into the stable, & afterwards putt into Betley Churche.

*Enymy beseiged the Towne Round.* On Saturdaye Nighte, the xxx[th] of December, about foure hundred of the Kinges forces came backe ou' [over] the water to Wrenbury, & the places thereabouts; & in short tyme beseiged the Towne Round on that side; & another pte. of theim were att Wistaston, Willaston & the rest of the Townes [townships] on another side.

[1643-4] *Derfold[1] and Acton Churchè.* Upon Tuesday, the second of Jan. 1643[-4], They entred into Derfold howse w[th]out resistance; soe that those in the Towne weire enforced to tende the Wal[l]es bothe daye & Night. But Acton Churche was Kepte w[th] a reasonable force by *Captyn Sadler*, sente furthe of Towne who did defend ytt very manfullie agaynst many assaults & Cannon shotts made by the Kinges ptie. ffrom the Churche, the p'liam[t]

Upon Saturday Dec: 29. [*sic*, for 30] about 400 of the Royalists came back over the Water to Wrenbury, & thereabouts, & in a short Time beset Nantwich round on that Side, & the Rest of their Army which were in Wistaston, Willaston & those Parts, on the other Side: & on Tuesday Jan: 2 they took Deerfold House without Resistance: so that the Town was now straitly begirt on each Side: & the Inhabitants & Souldiers were forced to guard their Mud Walls both Night and Day. But Acton Church, a little Mile of the Town, was kept by the Parliamenteers, with a small Company of Souldiers, Capt: Sadler being entrusted with it, who defended it against

[1] Derfold, Deerfold, Deerfeild (p. 26), and Darford (locally pronounced Darfoot), are various spellings of Dorfold Hall.

ptie. killed the Canoneire & twoe more of them; [1643-4]
And alsoe the widowe Parson dwellinge neere the
Churche & fyve of theim in hir howse weire alsoe
slayne w^th^ shott from the Churche.

*Dodington Hall.* The fourth of January, 1643[-4] the Kinges Army beseiged Dodington Hall, wherein was *Captyn Harwar* for the p'liam^t^, w^th^ about one hundred men well Armed, & p'vision and Magazen sufficiente for a fortnight; yett the same was deliu'ed to the Kinges ptie. w^th^ all the Armes, amunycon, & p'vision in the Howse, w^th^out any greate resistance; And the said Captyn, & all his Company depted. [departed] awaye, onelie w^th^ theire app'ell. [apparel]; & went to Wem, not beinge suffred to come to Namptwiche.[1]

many Assaults of the Enemy, & Shots of Canon discharged against it. They killed the Canonier out of the Church, & two more; also the Wid: Parson, who lived hard by the Church & 5 more Jan: 4.

The same Day the Enemy beseiged Doddington Hall, kept by Capt: Harwar with about 100 Men, without any Resistance. They had Arms, Amunition & Magazine for a Fortnight, which the Enemy had: Harwar, & his Men being sent away to Wem, only with their Clothes, not being suffered to go to Nantwich,

[1] This assault and the other victories of Lord Byron above mentioned are also given in a curious and scarce pamphlet entitled "MAGNALIA DEI: a *Relation* of some of the many *Remarkable Passages* in *Cheshire*, Before the *Siege of Namptwich*, during the Continuance of it; and at the happy raising of it by the victorious Gentlemen *Sir Tho. Fairfax* and *Sir William Brereton*. London: Printed for *Robert Bostock*, dwelling at the Signe of the Kinges Head in Pauls Church-yard. 1644." (*penes me*).

The account of the siege of Nantwich contained in the Rev. J. Partridge's "History of Nantwich," is taken from this pamphlet.

[1643-4] *Comynge of the Enymy.* The Towne beinge Nighte & Daye offred to bee assaulted by the Kinges forces, and contynuall allarams gyven all that weeke; On Saturday, the vj$^{th}$ of January 1643[-4], some forces yssued furthe of Towne, & fetched into the Towne, syven [seven] of the Kinges carryages[1] laden w$^{th}$ goods & p'vision, & most of theim drawen w$^{th}$ good Oxen; w$^{ch}$ soe raged theim, That they p$^{r}$sentlie wente & burned *Thomas Evansons* howse & Barne, *Saboth Churches* Lodge & many stacks of haye, & some other Lodges lykewyse.

*Ann Davenporte Slayne.* The Kinges forces, havinge compassed the Towne Round, contynued theire allarams agaynst the Towne bothe daye & Night; and on Wednesdaye Night [10 Jan.] they, havinge planted a greate peece of Ordnance neere Derfold Howse, did, about xj a Clock in the Night, shoote & discharge many gleed [*i.e.* hot] Redd Bulletts into the Towne; whereof one

which was Night & Day assaulted by the Enemy, & terrified with their continuall Alarms.

Upon Saturday Jan: 12. [*sic* for 6$^{th}$] the Beseiged sallied out of the Town, & fetcht in from the Beseigers 7 of their Carriages, drawn most of them with good Oxen, & Provision in the same: whereupon they were so enraged, that they fired Tho: Evenson's Barn, Sabboth Churche's Lodge, & some others, besides many Stacks of Hay.

On Wednesday Jan: 10, [*sic* in MS. and correct] about 11 of the Clock at Night, the Beseigers planted a great Peice of Ordinance near Deerfold House, & shot into the Town many great Iron Bullets, red hot as Fire, whereof one light on a Rick of

[1] The word "*carriages*" here means *carts;* but Malbon sometimes uses the word in its older sense as *baggage*. Cf. pp. 78, 79, 89, 111, &c.

[illegible] & Soulde[rs] in Towne, beside townesfolke, [1643-4]
[illegible]nany.

[illegible]esday, the xvj[th] of January 1643[-4] some
[illegible]ompanyes in Towne, yssued furthe att the
[illegible] *m[r] Tho* : *Maynwaringes* backside towards
[illegible] *Bromehalls* Barne, where the Kinges
& att the end theireof, had made some
[illegible]s for theire p[r]servacon; But the
[illegible]tlie entered the same, & drove theim
[illegible]me of theire clothes; theire [? they]
[illegible]n & broughte in some Armes &
[illegible]s onelie of one *Blackshawe*[2] (a
[illegible]ntered too far. Vpon Wed-
[illegible] January, The Kinges ptie.
[illegible] the Towne, and discharged
[illegible] sixteene tymes, (as was
[illegible]ther execution nor harme

h Company issued forth at
kside where the Enemy
their Works, kill'd some
ome Cloaths, Arms &
. Upon Wednesday
ery much, & discharged
. but did no Execution

(Nantwich Burial
*Robert Woodcock*,
*Ibid.*)

n scratched

[1643-4] *Geffrey Minshulls howse & Barne.* On ffrydaye mornynge, the xij$^{th}$ of January 1643[-4], many of the Kinges forces beinge in and about *Geffrey Minshulls* howse & Barne, & att *Thomas Duttons* howse, neere vnto the Towne, some fewe yssued furthe of the Towne, & fyred M$^{r}$ Minshulls Barne, & twoe Coates [Cottages] of Duttons, w$^{ch}$ weire burned downe to the grounde; & tooke twoe p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$, & killed ix or x (as was reported) & broughte in a woman p$^{r}$son$^{r}$ alsoe, w$^{ch}$ had xx$^{tie}$ halfe crowne peices in hir pockett, w$^{th}$out losse of any man, savinge twoe w$^{ch}$ were a litle hurte.

The seige thus contynuynge & the Towne neu'[never] in quyett scythens [since] the losse of Beeston Castle, beinge wholie Surrounded by the Kinges ptie., Soe that the Markett was lost, & non durst come to Towne to bringe either any p'vision or fuell, nor fetch any Salte; nor any yssue forth or come In; yett (blessed be god) theire was not for the p$^{r}$sent any want of any needfull thinge, althoughe the

Upon Friday Morning the Beseiged seeing many of their Enemies sheltered in & about M$^{r}$. Jeffrey Minshull's House & Barn, sallied out again, fired the said Barn, & a Cote or 2 of one Dutton's, which were burned down to the Ground, took 2 Prisoners, & kill'd, as was reported, 9 or 10 of the Enemies. They brought in also a Woman Prisoner who had 20 Half Crowns in her Pockets, without loss of any man.

The Seige had now continued in a Manner from the 13 of Dec: to the Midst of January, & the Town wholly without Supply of Provision: for no Market could be kept, nor were any suffered to bring in any Comodity: yet there was no Want of Necessaries during the Seige.

officers & Souldiers in Towne, beside townesfolke, [1643-4] weire many.

On Tuesday, the xvj^th^ of January 1643[-4] some of many Companyes in Towne, yssued furthe att the Scownce[1] on *m^r^ Tho* : *Maynwaringes* backside towards *vid.* [widow] *Bromehalls* Barne, where the Kinges forces weire; & att the end theireof, had made some walles & works for theire p^r^servacon; But the Townesmen quyetlie entered the same, & drove theim awaye; & found some of theire clothes; theire [? they] killed some of theim & broughte in some Armes & Ammunycon, w^th^ loss onelie of one *Blackshawe*[2] (a good Soldy^er^) whoe ventered too far. Vpon Wednesdaye, the xvij^th^ of January, The Kinges ptie. shott very muche agaynst the Towne, and discharged theire Canons foure score & sixteene tymes, (as was noted by some), but did neither execution nor harme

Upon Tuesday Jan: 16 some of each Company issued forth at the Sconce, on M^r^. Mainwairing's Backside where the Enemy were entrenched. They quickly entred their Works, kill'd some of them, drove the Rest away, brought in some Cloaths, Arms & Amunition, with the Loss of one Blackshaw. Upon Wednesday the Beseigers shot against the Town very much, & discharged their Canons *6 Times, as some observed, but did no Execution at all.

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[1] "*Scownce*," or *Sconce; i.e.* fort, or mound.

[2] "1643-4. Jan. 19. Hugh Blackshaw, soldier."—(Nantwich Burial Reg.) And on the same day, "*Richard Barker*, *Robert Woodcock*, *Richard Hough*, and *John Warburton*, soldiers." (*Ibid.*)

* The MS. has had 96; but the 9 appears to have been scratched out by Cole, the transcriber of Burghall's MS.

[1643-4] att all. But upon Thursdaye mornynge, [Jan. 18] directlie att Break of Daye, The Kinges forces did very fiercely assaulte the towne on eu'y side; But the Towne defended theim selves, beinge then ready att the Wal[l]es, very valiantlie & resolutelie to Dye, rather then [than] loose the Towne: where theire was for the space of an hower & somethinge more, very good servys p'formed on bothe sides. But then the Kinges forces fledd when ytt was fayre daylighte, noe faster than theire legges could carry theim: Leavinge behind theim theire Skalinge Ladders, & many wood Kidds, w^ch^ they had broughte w^th^ theim, & some of theire Armes; And about one hundred dead Bodies, w^ch^ they cold not take w^th^ theim, (for hast[e]) & many wounded. *Captyn Sandford*[1] was slayne behind the mounte on *Richard*

Upon Thursday Morning at Break of Day they strongly assaulted the Town on every side, & the Souldiers & Townsmen did very stoutly defend themselves: for the Space of an Hour, or little more, very valiant Service was done on both Sides: but in the End, They without the Town fled away as fast as they could, leaving their Scaling Ladders, Wood Kids they had brought with

[1] Captain Thomas Sandford was the second son of Robert Sandford of Sandford, co. Salop. It is said that he and some others killed before Nantwich, were removed to Chester and Buried in the Cathedral.—(*Cheshire Sheaf*, No. 417.) It is also stated in Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs*, Edit. 1698, vol. i., p. 77, that Captain Sandford's assault was made "whilst the works were but slenderly defended; the Guard consisting for the most part of Townesmen, who were then gone to dinner. But it so happened, that a boy of the age of 15 firing a musquett from the Town, shot him dead in the place, which discouraged his souldiers from any further attempt."—(*Cheshire Sheaf*, No. 527.)

*Wicksteeds* backside ;[1] and a gent., one of his fyerlocks, [was] taken there over the Wal[l]es : The gent. was taken alyve, but dyed the same daye ; & some others of theire Com'anders weire alsoe slayne, whose names cold not bee learned.[2] But the Towne Soldye[rs] had the pillage & Armes of them all. Theire weire slayne of the Townesmen *John Beckett, Robte Goldsmithe,* butcher, & *John Warren,*[3] w[ch] dyed afterwards ; and three com'on Soldye[rs] wounded. [1643-4]

*The firste greate assaulte on Namptwiche xviij of January* 1643[-4]. *Captyn Sandford Slayne.* [See p. 104.]

Theire was found in Captyn Sandfords pocketts, when hee was stripped, (this Sandford was Captyn of fyerlocks, & the same man w[ch] entered firste into Beeston Castle, when Captyn Steele deliu'ed the same), the

them, some Arms, & a 100 dead Bodies behind them; whereof Capt: Sandford was one, who was kill'd upon the Place, one of his Firelocks, sore wounded, & being brought into the Town, dyed quickly. The Town Souldiers had the Pillage of them all, & their Arms, & they lost not past 6 com̄on Souldiers, as the Report was.

There was found in Capt: Sandford's Pockets, when he was

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[1] This provincialism means behind Richard Wicksteed's house. It is still used in, but not confined to, Cheshire.

[2] Mr. Partridge speaks of the "activity of the Town's Women headed by a heroine of the name of Brett, who defended the works with the utmost bravery and did great execution on the 18th Jan. when the desperate assault was given by pouring hot brine upon the assailants, one of whom gaining the wall, too prematurely cry'd out *the town is our own.*" As this episode is not mentioned in any contemporary account, the truth of the story probably has no better foundation than the tradition of the town.

[3] None of these names occur in the Burial Register at this time.

[1643-4] manner of the designe for the said assaulte, sente from *Colonell Richard Gibson* in mann'. [manner] following; *viz.*:—"*Maior Harwar* w^th^ the regiment vnder his Com'and, & the fyer locks, w^th^ the Scaling Ladders, They and all the Dragoneers, Armed w^th^ fyer locks, or Snaphaunches,[1] to fall on first, soe neere vnto the fall of the Ryver, on this [Acton] side of the Water as may bee; on the lefte hande of the Bulworkes; Then to be second[ed] with a hundred musketteers; Then a stronge bodie of pikes; then a reserve of musketteers; & let the Soldie^rs^ carry as many faggotts as they can; This to bee att fyve a Clocke in the mornynge, Upon discharge of a peece of Ordnance: and to fall on the Wall, att discharge of some peece of ordnance: January xvij 1643[-4], Word. *God and a good Cause.*

There was alsoe found in Captyn Sandford's pocketts a letter written in theise words; viz.:—

*To the officer^s^ Souldye^rs^ & Gentlemen in Namptwiche theise :—*

Gent.

let these resolve yo^r^ Jelousies, concerninge our Religion. I vowe by the faythe of a Christian, I knowe not one Papist in our Army. And, as I am

stript, a Paper, containing the Manner & Order of the Assault for the Taking of the Town from Col^l^: Ric: Gibson. The Field Word was, God & a good Cause. A Letter also was found upon him dated Jan: 13. in these Words.

[1] The Snaphance was an improved gun or musket at that time, which struck fire by means of a lock without a match. It had a spring lock, in which the hammer did not, as subsequently, form the covering of the pan.

a gent. we are not Irishe, but trewe borne Englishe, [1643-4]
& Reall p'testants. alsoe, Borne & Bredd. Praye
you mistake us not, but receyve vs into your fayre
esteeme. And knowe wee intend Loyallie [loyally]
towards his Ma^tie & wilbe noe other then [than]
faythfull in his servys.

Thus gent. beleeve from yo^rs

THOMAS SANDFORD.

There was alsoe found upon him another letter dated the xv^th of January 1643[-4], viz.:

Gent.

Your Drum can informe you, Acton Churche, y^e noe more a p^rson; but now free for honest men to doe theire devocon. therein. Therefore bee p^rswaded from your Incredulitie, & Resolve God will not forsake his Anoynted. Lett not your zeale in a badd cause Dazell yo^r Eyes any longer, but wype away

"*To the Officers, Souldiers &c Gentlemen in Nantwich, These.*

"Gentlemen.

"Let these resolve your Jealousies concerning our Religion. I vow by the Faith of a Christian, I know not one Papist in our Army; but, as I am a Gentleman, we are not Irish, but true born English, & reall Protestants born & bred. Pray mistake us not; but receave us into your fair Esteem, & know, we intend loyally to his Majesty, & will be no other than faithfull in his Service. Thus believe, from yours,

"THO: SANDFORD."

Another was found upon him, dated Jan: 15, viz.

"Gentlemen.

"Your Drum can inform you, that Acton Church is no more a Prison, but now free for honest Men to do their Devotion therein: wherefore bee persuaded from your Incredulity, & resolve God will not forsake his Anointed. Let not your Zeal in a bad Cause dazzle

[1643-4] your vayne conceipts, that haue too longe led you into Blynde error. Louth am I to vndertake the trouble of p'swadinge you into obedyence, because your erronyous opynyons doe vyolentlie oppose reason amonge you. But ever (yf you love your Towne) accepte of quarter, & yf you regarde your lyves, worke yo^r^ saufetie by yeldinge yo^r^ Towne to the Lord Byron for his Ma^ties^ use; yow now see my battery ys fixte, from whence fyer shall Eternallie visitt you, day and Nighte, to the terror of your old and females & confusion of your Thatched howses. Beleeve me gent. I haue laid by my form^r^ delays, and am nowe resolved to batter, burne, and storme you. Doe not wonder that I wryte unto you (havinge office^rs^ in Cheefe aboue mee); tis onelie to advyse (because I haue some frends amongest you whose saufety I wish,) That you accepte of my Lord Byrons condicons. Hee ys gracyous and will charitablie consider of you.

Accepte of these, as a somons, that you furthe^wth^ surrender youre Towne, and by that testimonie of

your Eyes any longer; but wipe away your vain Conceats, that have too long led you into Error. Loath I am to take the Trouble of persuading you into obedience, because your erroneous Opinions do most violently oppose Reason among you. But ever, if you love your Towne, accept of Quarter; and if you regard your Lives, work your Safety by yealding your Town to the Lord Byron, for his Majestye's Use. You now see my Battery is fixt, from which Fire shall eternally visit you Day & Night, to the Terror of your Old & Females, & Consumption of your thatch'd Houses. Believe me, Gentlemen, I have laid by my former Delayes, & am now resolved to batter, burn, & storm you. Do not wonder, that I write unto you, having Officers in Cheif above mee: 'tis only to advise, because I have some Friends among you, for whose Safety I wish, that you accept of my Lord Byron's Conditions: for he is gracious, & will charitably consider of you. Accept of these, as a Sumons, that you forthwith

your fidelitie & fealtie to his Ma^tie^ you maye obteyne [1643-4]
favour. My fyer locks (you know) have done strange
feates bothe by Nighte and by Daye; and howerlie we
will not fayle in our pryvatt visitts to you. You
have not yett receyved my Allarams wherefore
expecte suddenly to here [hear] from

THOMAS SANDFORD, Captyn of ffyerlocks.

ffrom my battery and approaches before
your Welshe Roe the xv^th^ of January 1643[-4].

*The Assaulte.* The Towne contynuynge still be-
sieged all round on eu'y side; (Althoughe
ytt was supposed, the[y] had slayne & wounded on
theire side, & that did over Runn[1] theim, A thow-
sand[2] att the leaste, att that assaulte); Soe that noe

surrender your Town, & by that Testimony of your Fealty to his Majesty, you may obtain Favour. My Firelocks, you know, have done strange Feats by Night & by Day; & hourly we will not fail in our visits to you. You have not yet receaved my Alarms wherefore expect suddenly to hear from

THO: SANDFORD,
Captain of Firelocks."

"From my Battery & Approches before your Welsh-Row."

The Seige straightly continuing Things began to be very scarce, both for Man & Beast, many Cattle being within the Walls, for Fear of plundering, now wanted Fodder: & a speciall Providence

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[1] *Over-run, i.e.* to desert, or run away.

[2] The Royalist losses on the 18th Jan., 1643-4, though perhaps here much exaggerated, were very serious; as appears from particulars in *Magnalia Dei*, viz.:—Lord Byron attempted "to gain the towne by a sudden and violent assault upon five severall places of the towne at once; and this was done an houre before day, upon notice given to one another by a shot of one of theire Ordnance; the 18th of Januarie,

[1643-4] same; and also another greate Barne of his on the Heath side neere *Milston lane*[1]; & And lykewyse they, & the Kinges side burned *will'm Brownes* Barne; *James Bullens* Barne; *John Wrights* Barne; *Margarett Lathams* Barne; & *Margery Elcocks* Barne; & a Lodge w^ch^ was *Doctor Harwars;* And other Coates [cottages] all downe to the grounde; Bee [by] reason they weire places wherein the Kinges ptie. had harboured & mighte a donne[2] agayne, when they had gotten over the Reever; And donne greate harme to the Towne, as they had done before; (standinge all neere to the Towne).

*The Siege of the 25th of January 1643[-4].*

The same daye, beinge the 24^th^ of January 1643[-4] *Gen'all ffearfax* [Fairfax] *Colonell Brereton,* & many other Colonells & Com'ande^rs^ w^th^ theire owne & Lancashire forces, to the nu'ber of three thowsand fyve hundred & fyftie horse, & three thowsand foote marched all towards Namptwiche to remove the seige, (unknowne to the Towne) And comynge to Dalameyre forrest, met some of the Kinges forces, w^th^ whome they fought, & killed some of theim, & tooke fortie p'son^rs^: And restinge theim selves that Nighte att *Tilston,* & on *Tilston Heathe,*

The selfsame Day Generall Fairfax, Coll: Brereton, & many other Coll: & Comanders, & Lancashire Forces, to the Number of 3550 Horse, & 3000 Foot, marched towards Nantwich, to remove the Seige: & coming over Delamere Forest, met with some of the Royalists there, & in a Skirmish with them, took 40

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[1] *Millstone Lane,* on the east side of Nantwich, is still so called.

[2] "*Might a donne.*" Still common as a provincialism for "*might have done,*" and as an idiomatic expression for "*might do.*"

(havinge but simple quarter), nexte daye the[y] [1643-4]
marched towards Namptwiche; (beinge about fyve
myles thence); But beinge intercepted att *Barbridge*,
w^th^ more of the Kinges ptie. they fell vpon theim;
killed some & tooke thirtie p^r^sone^rs^: And vpon Thurs-
daye, the xxv^th^ of January 1643[-4], drawinge to
*Hurleston*, (twoe myles from the Towne) The[y]
weire a warr [aware] of the whole bodie of the Kinges
Army att Acton advancinge towards theim. There
the Battell began, betwixt theim, very fiercely; (about
halfe an hower past three in thafter noone), equall on
bothe sides; But before fyve a Clocke, many of the
Soldye^rs^ of the Trayned bands yssued furthe of
Towne, and fallinge vpon the Arreare of the Kinges
tie., They all fledd & weire vtterlie Rowted,
hroughe Gods assistance). Theire weire taken
sone^rs^, *S^r^ Michell Erneley*,[1] *S^r^ ffrances Butler, Colonell*
*bson, Colonell Warren, Col. ffletewood* and many
ptyns, Liefte^nts^, Corporalls, office^rs^, and Com'on

oners, & kill'd some. At Barrbridge they met more of them,
d some there, & took 30 Prisoners; & still drawing nearer
Town, unto Hurleston, they saw the whole Body of the
ny at Acton. The Battle began very fiercely between them,
t halfe an Hour past 3 in the Afternoon, & before, or about
ny Souldiers of Train'd Bands issued forth of the Town,
pon the Rear: whereupon they fled, & were utterly routed.
were taken Prisoners, Sir Michael Earnley, Sir Francis
Coll: Gibson, Coll: Warren, Coll: Fleetwood, & many

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Michael Ernley, who belonged to an ancient Wiltshire family,
his liberty by an exchange of prisoners, and afterwards
overnor of Shrewsbury, where he died. (See Malbon *postea*.)
one good service in Ireland, and the Marquis of Ormond had
nion of his abilities as a soldier.

[1643-4] Soldyer[s]; to the nu'ber of xvj hundred or thereabouts: One greate Brasse Ordnance; ffoure other smaler peeces of ordnance; & all theire Carryage, magazen, & p'vision; and alsoe all the money & treasure, w[ch] they had plu'dred & gotten (during all the tyme the seige lay agaynst the Towne, w[ch] was about Seaven weekes), vp and downe all the Countrey & marche[1] in Staffordshire about Betley, and the neerer pte. of that Countie adioynynge to Cheshire; w[ch] was broughte into the Towne; (althoughe some of the Soldyer[s] gott some of the money vnknowne to the Cheefe Com'anders); But yf Daylighte had not fayled, theire had but fewe of theim escaped: the Nighte beinge very darke, the Kinges ptie. cold not be pursued; (as was intended); But the fighte beinge ended, many of the p'liam[t] forces bett[2] good fyer, & contynued in the *Lady field* att Acton Churche all Nighte. That pte. of the Kinges side w[ch] had taken

Captains, Lieutenants & Comon Souldiers, to the Number of 1600, or thereabouts; one great Brass Peice of Ordinance, 4 smaller Peices, & all their Carriages, Magazine, & Provision: which was all imediately brought into the Town: & if Day Light had not failed, 'tis thought but few of them had escapt: but the Night being very dark, they forbore to pursue after them; & many remained on the Field all Night. There were few slain on either Side; about 40 of the Royalists, & 3 or 4 of the other; but few wounded. Those of the Cavaliers that were in Acton Church,*

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[1] "*Marche*" (pronounced *marsh*) signifies *border*.

[2] "*Bett.*" The past tense of the obsolete verb, *beet*. Wilbraham's *Cheshire Glossary*, 2nd edit., 1826, p. 18, gives "*beet the fire*, to light, or to make the fire." *Bett good fyer*, means *made a good fire*.

* Burghall's account is continued on p. 117.

Acton Churche and Derfold Howse, called for Quar- [1643-4]
ter, w^ch was graunted. Theire was slayne[1] of theim about fourty; & on the other side but three; nor but fewe wounded; And thus (throughe Gods mercy & assistaunce,) the Seige was Reased; & the Towne p^rserued from a most bloddy malicious Enymy. All the Com'on sorte of the p^rsone^rs, to the nu'ber of fyfteene hundred & more, weire putt into the Churche at Namptwiche; where they contynued ffryday, Saturday & Sondaye; (mayntayned by the Towne); And then many of theim tooke vp Armes for the p'liam^t, And weire listed vnder Seu'all Captyns; and all the wounded weire putt furthe of Towne, w^ch weire able to goe, and some of theim dyed.[2] Theire weire amongest theim about CXXtie [120] weomen taken alsoe, w^ch weire putt furthe of Towne; onelie some poore weomen in the Towne, tooke the best of theire Clothes from theim, w^ch they had gotten by plu'der.

*No Servys nor Sermon in the Churche.* On Sunday, the xxviij of January 1643[-4], In regarde the p^rsone^rs weire in the Churche, theire cold bee noe Servys; (havinge but one Churche in the Towne;) but praye^rs &

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[1] The slain are supposed to have been buried in a field known as *Deadmen's-Field*, not far from Acton Church. The victory at Nantwich was won by Sir Thos. Fairfax's timely charge of horse, when the sally of the garrison had thrown the royalists into confusion. The battle was fought between Hurleston and Acton on the slope to the west of the Weaver and Nantwich town. Two regiments from Ireland broke and fled; and the rest of the army surrendered at Acton Church and Dorfold. See also Vicars, *God's Ark*, pp. 143-4.

[2] Only four soldiers are recorded in the Burial Register, in the three days following the great battle, viz.:—

"1643-4 Jan. 26. John Holland sergant.
" " 27. William Eckerson [and] Isack Cheetum, Soldiers.
" " 28. Thomas Brookes Lieutenante."

[1643-4] Preachinge weire att *mr Thomas Wilbrahams Howse; mr Hugh Hassalls the Crowne Gallery;* & the *Ladie Nortons* bothe forenoone & afternoone.[1]

*Pr'soners taken at the Reasing of the Seige.* The names & nu'ber of p^r^sone^rs^ of note, taken att Reasing the Seige, as appered by a Liste,[2] weire *Maior Gen'all Gibson, S^r^ ffrancis ffletewood, S^r^ Michell Erneley, S^r^ ffrancis Butler, S^r^ Rauffe Done, Colonell Warren, Colonell Gibbes* and *maior Hammon*[*d*], foureteene Captyns; thirtie Lieften^ts^; sixe & twentie Ensignes; twoe Cornetts; two Quarter maisters; ffourtie seriants; threescore & three Corporalls; twentie gent. of Companyes; ffourtie Drumers; twentie Carryages; Sixe peeces of Ordnance; a hundred & twentie weomen; And fyfteene hundred Com'on Soldye^rs^.

*The names of Com'anders w^ch^ reased the Seige.* The names of the cheefe Com'anders w^ch^ came in Ayde of the Towne to rease the Seige, viz: *Sr Thomas fferfax,* Gen'all; *Sir Will'm. ffearefax,* his

[1] These houses were:—
1.—*Townsend* in Welsh Row.
2.—*The Crown Inn*, in High Street: the "*gallery*" being the whole of the top story, which had a continued range of windows from end to end until alterations were made about Christmas, 1871.
3.—*The Hall* at Beam Street-end, on the site of the present Crewe Almshouses.

[2] Three Lists of the prisoners were printed, and will be found in my *History of Nantwich*, pp. 169-171. The most remarkable prisoner was *Colonel George Monk*, who had been Governor of Dublin; and had been sent over to Bristol by Ormond as one not to be trusted. Monk, however, professing still to favour the King's cause, joined Byron's army. He was still a prisoner at Nantwich on 7th April, 1644 (*Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. ii., p. 39); and was afterwards removed to the Tower of London. Being liberated, he became the servant of the Commonwealth; but, after Cromwell's death, he exerted himself for Charles II., who created him Duke of Albemarle. He died 3rd Jan., 1670, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Kinsman; *Colonell Brereton*; *Colonell Maynwaringe;* [1643-4] *Colonell Duckenfeild; Colonell Bouth; Colonell Brighte; Colonell Allen, Colonell Lambert, Maior Copley, maior Morgan; maior Spencer*; & many othe[rs] of Note. Lancashire Com'ande[rs] *Colonell Holland,*[1] *Colonell Ashton,*[2] *Colonell John Bouthe,*[3] *Sir Thomas Malevery, Sr will'm. Constable, & Colonell Rigbies*[4] Reigm[t] conteyninge in nu'ber in all about Seyven Thowsand.

*The markett began agayne.* Upon the nexte Saturdaye after the Seige was reased theire was a greate markett in Towne began agayne. And plenty of all needfull things att Reasonable Rates, w[th] greate rejoyceing & praysinge God for the same.

*Thomas Steele Executed.* On Monday the xxix of January 1643 [-4] *Thomas Steele* (late badd governor of Beeston Castle) whoe before had Judgmen[t] to dye by a Councell of warr, was shott in the Tynkers Crofts att Nämptwiche, behind the Churche, Leanynge his Backe to the Crosse wall theire (after a very longe

& Deerfold, call'd quickly for Quarter; which was accordingly given them. And upon Saturday next after, a good Market began again, & Plenty of all Necessaryes at reasonable Rates.

Upon Munday, Jan: 29. Tho: Steel, late Governour of Beeston Castle, who before had Judgment to dy, was shot to Death in Tinker's Croft, by two Souldiers who shot him, one in the Belly,

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[1] Colonel Richard Holland, of Heaton, in Prestwich, Governor of Manchester.

[2] Major-general Ralph Ashton, or Assheton, of Middleton, M.P. for Lancashire.

[3] Colonel John Booth, of Woodford, Cheshire, a younger son of Sir George Booth of Dunham, the elder; afterwards Knighted.

[4] Col. Alexander Rigby, M.P. for Wigan, Lancashire.

[1643-4] confession and repentance of his Synnes made) By twoe Com'on Soldye[rs] ; the one shott him in the Belly, & the other in his Throate ; whoe was p[r]sentlie carryed awaye, beinge laid in a coffyn standinge on the grounde by him, broughte into the Churche Yarde & buryed ymedyatlie neeare the Rowe of Gravestones on the Northe side of the heighe Chauncell.[1]

*Battell at Sandford Bridge.* Vpon the same Mondaye the xxix[th] of January 1643[-4] some of the horse on the p'liam[t] side, beinge quartred In & about Tarvyn, weire sett vpon by Chester forces, where some of the p'liam[t] side weire taken p[r]sone[rs] & some wounded : But a Company of Dragone[rs] makinge speed, releeved theim & released all

& t'other in the Throat, who was imediately put in a Coffin, & buried in the Church Yard. He made Confession of his Sins, & amongst the Rest of Uncleanness ; he prayed a good While, & to the judgment of Charity dy'd penitently.

On the same Day some Horse & Parliament Forces being billeted in & about Tarven, were set upon by Chester Forces, some of them being wounded, others taken Prisoners : but a Company of Dragooners for the Parliament making Haste after

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[1] The Rev. Henry Newcome in his *Autobiography* (Chet. Soc. Pub., p. 95) speaking at large of Steele's "confession," says, "At his death he disclaimed all treachery." He is said to have been the third son of Thomas Steele of Weston, co. Chester ; (Ormerod, New Edit., vol. iii. p. 98), and the family name is still found in the neighbourhood of Barthomley. His burial is recorded as follows :—"1643[-4] Jan. 29. Captaine Steele Shott." (*Nant. Bur. Reg.*)

Interesting particulars relating to the Steele family are given in Hinchliffe's *Barthomley*, pp. 352-3 ; Earwaker's *Local Gleanings Magazine*, pp. 322-336 ; and in Dr. Howard's *Miscellanea Genealogica*. See also Earwaker's *History of Sandbach*, pp. 17-20, where a full pedigree of the family is given.

the p^rsone^rs from theim ; killed one of theire Captyns, & some other^s of theim wounded many & tooke eighte of them p^rsone^rs, w^ch weire sente to Namptwiche. [1643-4]

*Daye of Thanksgivinge.* On Wednesdaye, the laste of January 1643[-4], A soleme day of thankesgyvinge was held at Namptwiche, in the same places where Servys & Sermons weire the Sabothe before.

*Nantwiche Churche Cleansed.* And vpon Thursdaye, the firste of ffebruary 1643[-4], The Churche was freed from all the p^rsone^rs w^ch had byn theire ; from pollucon. & beastliness com'itted by them ; & all the Mattes & bosses were burned ; & all the pewes and seates made clayne & washed ;[1] And on Sondaye, the fourthe of ffebruary 1643[-4], praye^rs & preachinge began publiquely agayne in the saide Churche.

*Colonell Brereton leaveth for London.* On the Seconde of ffebruary 1643[-4], *Colonell Brereton* sett forwards towards London to the

them, overtook them & rescued the Prisoners, kill'd a Captain, & some others of them, wounded many, & took 8 Prisoners, which were immediately sent to Nantwich.

Upon Wednesday, January 31. a solemn Thanksgiving was kept, for the removing of the Seige. It was not kept in the Church : for the Prisoners had been kept there, & it was not yet clensed : but in some Houses of the Town, fitted for the Purpose.

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[1] A charge of 5s. was put down in the "Church Book" (now unfortunately lost) "for pitch to purify the place on their departure." (*Cheshire Sheaf*, No. 673.)

[1643-4] P'liam$^{t}$. But retorned not to Namptwiche agayne vntil midsom$^{r}$ nexte afterwards.

*Crewe Hall gyven up.* On Mondaye the fyfte of ffebruary 1643[-4], Namptwiche forces havinge beseiged Crewe Hall, (kepte by the Kinges ptie.) from Thursdaye before, thoughe att a farr distance, Began to assaulte the Howse, w$^{ch}$ when *Captyn ffisher* p'ceyved, whoe kept it for the Kinges vse, desyred a ply. [parley]; w$^{ch}$ was yelded vnto; And then ytt was agreed, That hee & theim theirein shold all p$^{r}$sentlie depte. awaye & yeld up the howse, leaving theire Armes behind theim; w$^{ch}$ they did, being in nu'ber (w$^{th}$ those w$^{ch}$ weire wounded) one hundred & twentie & many of theim came the same daye to Namptwiche, where they were ent[er]teyned. But the Captyn had carried himselfe soe baselie towards the Neighbourhood thereabout that the Countrey people wold have killed him when hee was come furthe, had hee not byn p'served by those to whom hee had yelded vp the howse.

*Dodington Surrendered.* Upon Wednesdaye the vij$^{th}$ of ffebruary 1643[-4], Dodington Hall, beinge alsoe kepte by the Kinges ptie., was alsoe assaulted by Namptw$^{ch}$ forces, & upon some

Upon Munday Feb: 4. [*sic* in MS.; should be 5] Nantwich Forces began to assault the Hall of Crew, kept by Capt: Fisher for the Enemy, which was presently surrendered up on Condition, that Hee & his Souldiers, which were in Number about 120, with those that were wounded, might depart safe, leaving their Arms: which was done accordingly: & many of them came that Day to Nantwich, where they were entertained.

Feb: 7. Doddington-Hall, being kept by the Enemy, but now assaulted with great Ordinance, yeilded upon like Terms, that

Shott w^th^ theire greate ordnance, w^ch^ they had broughte w^th^ theim, w^oh^ the Captyn in the Howse p'ceyving, & knowinge theire was noe hope of any Ayde, lykewyse desyred a plie. [parley], w^oh^ was condescended vnto; The Agreem^t^ was that the howse sholde bee deliu'ed vp, & the Souldye^rs^ & wounded shoulde depte. awaye w^th^ fourtie of theire Armes; whereof the greatest pte. of theim w^th^ theire Armes came to Namptwiche, where they were ent[er]tayned: The nu'ber in all beinge about . . . . . The[y] left behind theim almost twoe hundred Armes, And good store of victualls, powder, matches & Bulletts. [1643-4]

*Thankesgyvinge & Humiliacon Dayes.*

On Tuesdaye the xiij^th^ of ffebruary 1643[-4], A soleme daye of thankesgyvinge was held in Namptwiche & att Acton. And vpon Thursdaye after a daye of humyliacon.

*Adlington Hall gyven up.*

Upon ffryday in the same moneth [Feb: 16] Adlington Howse was deliu'ed vp to the p'ilam^t^ ptie. (whoe had beseiged the same a fortnight) w^th^ free quarter gyven theim; wherein was a yonger sonne of *Mr. Leighes*:

the Souldiers whole, & wounded, should depart, with 40 of their Arms: most of them came to Nantwich, & were there entertained. They left behind almost 200 Arms, with good Store of Provision Powder, Match, & Bullets.

On Thursday [*sic* for Tuesday] Feb: 13 a solemn Day of Thanksgiving was kept in Nantwich Church & Acton: & upon Thursday after a Day of Humiliation.

On Friday Feb: 14, [*sic*, for 16] Adlington House was delivered up, which was beseiged about a Fortnight; where was a yonger Son of M^r^. Leigh's, & 140 Souldiers, which had all fair Quarter,

[1643-4] And ytt was reported theire was found in the howse Seyven hundred Armes and fyfteene Barrells of powder & one hundred & fourtie Soldier[s].

*Hall of Bidle [Biddulph] taken by Storme.*[1] On Wednesday the xxi[st] of ffebruary 1643[-4], the Hall of Bidle [Biddulph], having a Garrison kepte in it by the Kinges ptie., w[ch] was a very stronge stonne Howse in Staffordshire, was beseiged by the p'liam[t] forces for a long tyme: Att lengthe beinge assaulted & much battred w[th] greate Ordnance, They w[th]in desyred quarte[r] w[ch] was graunted theim; The p[r]sone[rs] theire taken weire the *Lord Brereton* & *his ladie*, and theire *sonne* & heire (a Childe), *Captyn Biddulphe*, *Captyn Shakerley*, *Captyn Minshull* of Erdeswicke, *maior Bouthe*, three of *mr. Bellotts sonnes*, [of Moreton Hall,] *mr. Lockett*, & about one hundred & fiftie Soldye[rs], All of theim carried p[r]sone[rs] to Stafford: ytt was reported theire was three hundred Armes & some

of Leave to depart, leaving behind them, as the Report was, 700 Arms, & 15 Barells of Powder.

On Wednesday Febr: 21. the Hall of Biddulph was beseiged by the Parliament Forces, & held out a long Time: but [at] last the House being battered, they desired Quarter for Life, which was given them. The Prisoners that were taken, was the Lord Brereton & his Lady, their Son & Heir, Capt: Biddulph, Capt: Shakerley, Capt: Minshall of Arsewick, Major Booth, 3 Sons of M[r]. Billots, M[r]. Locket, & about 150 Souldiers, all carried

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[1] Vicars, *God's Ark*, p. 167, says Biddulph House finally yielded to Sir Thos. Fairfax: but, it has been stated that Sir William Brereton marched from Stafford to take Biddulph. See also "*Biddulph Old Hall*, a paper read before the Manchester Literary Club, July 19, 1879," by the late J. E. Bailey, F.S.A.

I can find no proof that the great General Fairfax was present at the taking of Biddulph Hall. Observe Burghall's misspelled names.

Ammunycon, but how muche is not certynly reported. [1643-4]

*Wythenshawe Howse taken by Storme.* Upon Sonday the xxv^th^ of ffebruary 1643[-4], *m^r^ Tatton* of Wythenshawe Howse, beinge garrisoned by the Kinges side, was taken by storme by the p'liam^t^ forces, whoe had beseiged the same a long tyme; wherein was m^r^ Tatton & some fewe gent. & not many Souldye^rs^, w^oh^ had quarter gyven theim, the nu'ber of the p'sone^rs^ beinge but a fewe.[1]

*Colonell Myttons marche to Drayton.* On Mondaye Nighte the fourthe of Marche 1643[-4], *Colonell Mytton* & *S^r^ willm. ffearfax*, [Fairfax][2] w^th^ some of theire troupes of horse beinge quartred att Drayton, weire sett upon by Prince Ruperts forces. But beinge too weake for theim, they retyred & fled

Prisoners to Stafford: & its said, there were 300 Arms in the House, & some Amunition, but how much is not known.

Upon Sunday Feb: 25, M^r^. Tatton of Whittenshaw's House was taken by the Parliament Forces, who had laid a long Seige to it, wherein was M^r^. Tatton, some few Gentlemen, & but a few Souldiers, which had Quarter for Life: the Amunition was but little.

Upon Munday Night, March 4. Coll: Mitton, & Sir W^m^. Fairfax, with some of their Troops of Horse, being quarter'd at Drayton, were set upon by Prince Rupert's Forces, & being too weak for them, retir'd, & fled away disorderly. Capt: Shipley & 12 of the Parliament Forces were taken Prisoners: the Rest returned to Nantwich safely without Harm.

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[1] See interesting account of the siege of Wythenshawe House, and the names of its defenders in Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. i., pp. 314-5.

[2] Sir William Fairfax, of Steeton, co. York, was cousin to Sir Thos. Fairfax. He fought at Edgehill, Nantwich, Marston, and lost his life at Montgomery. (See *postea.*)

[1643-4] awaye Disorderly.[1] *Captyn Shipley* & about twelve of the p'liam[t] ptie. taken p[r]sone[rs]: *Colonell Mytton* & *S[r] Willm. ffearfax* & theire forces came to Namptwiche in saufetye.

*A gibbett erected att Namptwiche.* Upon Shrove Tuesdaye, the fyfth of Marche, 1643[-4], A Gibbett was sett vp in Namptwiche; whereupon was executed the same daye, (beinge adiudged by the Councell of warr) one *Browne*, a Com'on Soldye[r], for wilfullye killinge, one *Alfleete*[2] a Comon Soldye[r] in the Streete, when hee was drunke; not knowinge what hee had done, when hee was sober, as hee said & confessed on the Ladder.

*Leedes Battell.* On Ash wednesdaye the vj[th] of Marche 1643 [-4], some of *Gen'all S[r] Thomas ffearfax* [*Fairfax*] his troupes & *Colonell Lamberts* w[th]

Upon Shrove Tuesday March 5, a Gibbet was set up in the Market Place, whereon was executed one Brown, a comon Souldier, for killing one Alfleet, another comon Souldier, in the Street. This Brown was so drunk, when he did that wicked Act, that he knew not what he had done, when he was sober, as hee himself confest at the Gibbet.

Upon Ash Wednesday Mar: 6. Coll: Lambert, with some of Sir Tho: Fairfax his Troops, took Prisoners, near to Leeds in

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[1] Malbon means that Colonel Mytton was defeated by superior numbers of Prince Rupert's men. Another account (of which I have lost the reference) says the Parliamentarians were defeated, and fled leaving 120 slain and 140 prisoners; and Fairfax lost his colours inscribed "For Reformation." Nantwich was in fear of an attack by Rupert; but he marched to Chester, and from thence on the 13th he set out for Shrewsbury on his way across the midlands to relieve Newark.

[2] The Parish Register records the burial of "*Richard Aghit, soldier*," on the 4th March, being the day before this military execution. He may have been identical with the unfortunate "*Alfleete*."

his forces tooke p^r^sone^rs^ neere to Leedes, *maior* [1643-4] *Vavasor, maior willm. Hewes, Captyn Leyborne, Captyn Talbott, Captyne Lance, Captyne Cares, m^r^ walmeslowe captyn of a troupe, m^r^ Taylor, m^r^ Jennynge, m^r^ Charles Duckett, m^r^ Christopher Harrys,* Lieftent^t^ to *Captyn Plumton,* & twoe hundred horse, (some reporte ccl^tie^ [250]) a hundred Comon Soldye^rs^, & twoe hundred Armes; all p'cell [parcel] of the *Earle* of *Newe-Castles* Army.[1]

*ffarne Battell.* Upon the same Ashwednesdaye att Nighte or Thursdaye mornynge, some of the p'liam^t^ forces att Emeral [Emral] yssued furthe to the nu'ber of fourtie horse, w^oh^ tooke fourtie musket-tiers behind theim, marched towards ffarne in Cheshire neere vnto Holte, entending to haue taken the Kinges ptie. theire in theire quarte^rs^; But they, havinge

Yorkshire, Major Vavasor, Major W^m^. Hughs, Capt: Lebourn, Capt: Talbot, Capt: Lance, Capt: Cares, M^r^. Millow Capt: of a Troop, M^r^. Leriter, [? Taylor] M^r^. Jeanings, M^r^. Charles Dicket, M^r^. Chris: Harris Lieut: to Capt: Plympton, 200 Horse, some say 250 & 100 comon Souldiers, being Part of the Earl of Newcastle's Army, & 200 Arms. *

Upon Wednesday Night, or Thursday Morning, some of the Parliament Forces lying at Emral Hall, issued forth, to the Number of 40 Horse, with 40 Musketiers behind them, intending to have taken the Enemy in their Quarters at ffarn: but they

[1] The Earl of Newcastle was in great need of royalist help at this time. Sir Thos. Fairfax held the West Riding, his father the East Riding; the Scots were advancing southwards; while Manchester and Cromwell were preparing to march northwards; all bent on the overthrow of Newcastle's army. Vicars, *God's Ark*, pp. 168-9, speaks of another success near Bradford about a week earlier; proving that the cloth towns of Yorkshire were in favour of the Parliament.

* Observe Burghall's misspelled names in this paragraph.

[1643-4] notice thereof, yssued furthe of Towne & laye in Ambushment for theim ; And when they came thether they found non[e]. But the Kinges forces surrounding the Towne about, sett vpon theim, tooke all the foote & some of the horse p'sone$^{rs}$, w$^{th}$ all theire Armes.

*An Alaram on Namptwiche.* On the xviij$^{th}$ of Marche 1643[-4], about one a Clocke after midnight, *Colonell marrowe*, w$^{th}$ his horse, gave an alaram on the Towne, & drave awaye many Cattell w$^{ch}$ was the first allaram gyven to the Towne scythens the seige was reased.[1]

[1644] *A fast att Namptwiche.* On Wednesdaye [*sic* for Friday] the xxix$^{th}$ of Marche 1644 was a soleme fast held att Namptwiche, w$^{th}$ prayer &

having Notice of it, issued out of the Town, & laid an Ambush for them. The Parliamenteers came to ffarn, but found no Souldiers in it : for they having on Purpose withdrawn, did presently beset the Town, took all the Foot, and 4 of the Horse, with their Arms.

Mar: 18. about one of the Clock in the Morning, Coll: Marrow gave an Alarm to Nantwich, & took away many Cattle : which was the first Alarm the Town had given it since the Seige was removed. This Coll: Marrow was a great Plunderer, took all my Goods off mee, & drove me from my House : & having a Call to preach at Haslington May 1. 1644, I went & tarried there 2 Years, having 34$^{l}$ [£34] paid.

1644. About this Time Nantwich was very suspicious of Prince Rupert: for he had been long in Shrewsbury & Wales,

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[1] *Colonel Marrow*, a distinguished royalist, died at Chester on the 19th Aug., 1644, from wounds received the day before in a skirmish at Sandiway, co. Chester. (See *postea*.)

preachinge most of the daye.[1] [1644]

*Prince Rupert att Shrowesbury [April 1644].*

Prince Rupert, havinge layen longe quartred att Shrowesbury & in Wales, gathering greate forces together(non[e] knowinge in Namptwiche what hee intended to doe) made the Towne & Countrey suspicious of him; but they kepte the Companyes together well furnished, Readye to resiste him, (yf need had byn); But hee moved not that waye.

*Allarams.*

On Wednesday mornynge in Easter weeke 1644, about three a Clocke in the mornynge, An Alaram was beaten vp in the Towne of Namptwiche vpon a Reporte broughte that the Kinges forces weire seene vpon Ravensmoore. But the scoutes Rydinge furthe sawe non; Soe all was

gathering more Forces: therefore they first kept a Day of Humiliation, & then prepared for an Assault: but hee came not that Way: but after hee had gathered what Moneyes he could in Shropshire & elswhere, he drew all his Forces towards Holt, Farn, Malpas, Whitchurch, & all the Country thereabouts. May 18.* he advanct towards Dra[y]ton: the next Day his Army of 10,000, most Horse, came over the Water to Audlem, Brewerton [Buerton], Over [Woore], &c. & plundered all the Country.

[1] Malbon makes no mention of Prince Rupert's success at Newark on 21st March. It appears that false intelligence of that royalist victory reached Nantwich, for Sir John Byron in congratulating the Prince tells him that "there hath lately beene a solemne thanksgiuinge both at Namptwich & Middlewich for a greate ouerthrow yr Highness lately receaued wherein yor Horse was Kill'd vnder you, & yr Highness forced to gett vpon yor dogg Boy, & swimm ouer a great river, all wch is more firmely beleeued amongst the Roundheads then any part of the Gospell." (Quoted in Webb's *Civil War in Hereford*, vol. i., p. 385, note.)

Though the "solemne thanksgiving" is omitted, the "soleme fast" is recorded, when the inhabitants probably met to mourn over the Parliamentary defeat at Newark.

* Malbon's corresponding paragraph will be found on page 129.

[1644] p^r^sentlie quyett. On the seyventh of Maye 1644, Theire was another Allaram aboute twoe a Clocke in the Mornynge (w^th^out cause).

*Captyn Cheswys.* Upon Thursdaye the viij^th^ of Maye 1644 *Captyn Cheswys*, w^th^ a fewe horse, yssued furthe of Towne [of Nantwich], And neere Cholm'ley Hall hee tooke fyve men and horse w^th^ theire Armes; and slewe one; w^ch^ fyve hee broughte p^r^sone^rs^ to Namptwiche.

*Captyn Stanley at Cholmley Castle.* And the same daye att Nighte *Captyn Stanley* w^th^ his horse & most of the horse in Towne, w^th^ many foote Companyes marched forth to Cholm'ley (Beinge then Garrisoned by the Kinges ptie.) & theire gaue theim an Allarom & Som'ond [summoned] the Howse. But they w^th^in wold gyve theim noe answere; whereuppon they gave three volyes of shott agaynste the Howse. But they w^th^in did shoote very litle. Soe when the[y] sawe the[y] cold not enter the howse, The[y] broughte allonge w^th^ theim a hundred Sheepe, some Lambes, and some goods, w^ch^ they found in an out howse theire, for they in the howse had all theire horse in the Hall; And soe retorned in the mornynge all backe & saufe to Namptwiche.

*Prince Rupert.* About the xvj of Maye 1644, & from thence after for a certyn space, *Prince Rupert* daylie mustred and gathered together all the forces hee cold both in Wales, Shropshire and other places and layd greate Layes & taxes vpon Shropshire, to some thowsand pounds, w^ch^ was most of ytt paid. And draweinge all his forces to Holte,

ffarne, Malpas, Whitchurch, and all that Countrey, [1644]
vpon the xviij$^{th}$ of Maye 1644 hee advanced from Whitchurch to Drayton; and on Sondaye the xix$^{th}$ of Maye his Armye consistinge of aboute tenne thowsand (most of theim horse), Advanced over the water of Weever unto Aldelem [Audlem], Buerton, Hankelow, & Woore, plu'dring all the Countrey as the[y] wente; beinge neere Namptwiche.

On Monday the xx$^{th}$ of Maye 1644, About one thowsand horse & foote yssued furthe of Namptwiche & marched towards [*i.e.*, southwards from Nantwich]; but the Princes army was retorned agayne to Aldelem [Audlem]; Soe that they weire not mett w$^{th}$all.

On Tuesdaye night the xxj$^{st}$ of Maye 1644, The Prince laye att Betley and his Army weire marched to Haslington, Sandbach, Warmyncham, & all that Countrey; plu'dring & taking All men & goods they cold gett, meddling w$^{th}$ noe Cattell but horses: And on Wednesday they marched towards Rudheath. On Thursdaye they did contynue thereabouts in that Countrey; plu'dring all the[y] cold; But the Countrey people Rysinge agaynst theim in seu'all

Upon Monday [May 20] Nantwich Bands, being about 1000, issued forth towards Hatherton: but the Enemy retired to Audlem; & so they did not meet with any of them.

Upon Tuesday at Night, the Prince lay at Betteley, & his Army advanced towards Haslington, Sandbach &c. plundering most fearfully all along, & especially taking Men & Horses.

Upon Wednesday they advanct to Rud-Heath, & upon Thursday they staid to plunder in those Parts, where some of them were taken Prisoners, by the Countrey Inhabitants, about 20:

[1644] [several] places, did take about twentie of theim p[r]soners, and some of theim weire Slayne,[1] as the[y] passed alonge by Dodington, By *Captyn Churche* and *Captyn Whitney* whoe kepte a garrison in Dodington Hall, w[th] about fourtie Soldye[rs] for the p'liam[t].

*Prince Rupert entred into Lancashire.*

On ffryday the xxiiij[th] of Maye 1644 The Prince w[th] his Army advanced towards Lancashire, & did quarter In and about Knottesford. And on Saturdaye they advanced to Stockporte where *Colonell Duckinfeild* and *Colonell Maynwaringe* laye w[th] theire forces of horse and foote, beinge not able to w[th]stand soe potent an Enymy, And the Townesmen alsoe w[th] all theire horse & foote vpon the advance of theim fled into Lancashire.[2] And on Sondaye ytt was reported that the Prince had entred into Lancashire and weire

others were slain as they passed by Duddington, by Capt: Whitney's & Capt: Churche's Men, who kept Garrison there.

Upon Friday May 24. they advanct towards Lancashire, & lodged at Knutsford: upon Saturday they advanct towards Stockport, where Coll: Mainwaring & Coll: Duckenfeild were with their Companyes: but they left the Town & fled into Lancashire. About 3 Dayes after they assaulted Bolton, & with Loss of much

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[1] Wybunbury Register has the following entries :—

"1644 May 24 Thomas Banforth a souldier slaine at dodington was buried."

"1644 May 25 Baptized ffrancis daughter of Thomas Pantum, a souldier."

"1645 April 1 Buried Mary Pantum a souldiers weif."

[2] Col. Duckenfield's men had taken position behind hedge-rows, waiting for Rupert's infantry to come up. Col. Washington was ordered to scour the hedges with his Dragooners; and Rupert rushed on afterwards, drove the Parliamentarians into Stockport, took the town, all the cannon, much ammunition and 800 prisoners. (*Mercurius Aulicus*, June 8, 1644: quoted in Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. i., p. 351.)

on Barloe [Barlow] More, and had somoned Manchester. [1644]

*Colonell Mytton.* On the same ffryday the xxiiij$^{th}$ of Maye 1644 *Colonell Mytton* retorned from London, & came to Wem: And the same nighte w$^{th}$ some forces yssued furthe and marched to Morton Corbett and tooke Sixe Loads of Iron and slewe tenne of the Kinges ptie., w$^{ch}$ laye theire in Garrison.

*Colonell Hunckes goods taken.* Upon Saturdaye the xxv$^{th}$ of Maye 1644 *Colonell Mytton*, w$^{th}$ good forces from Wem, marched towards Oswestry; & in his marche he tooke eighte Loads of[f] *Colonell Hunckes* his goodes w$^{ch}$ came furthe of Ireland; viz. sixe Cartes, & twoe waggons Loaded w$^{th}$ Tents and Riche goods, garded w$^{th}$ foure Trowpes of horse and some ffoote; But they beinge all overcome by Colonell Mytton & his company

Blood, & great Cruelty, took it. After that they set upon Leverpool, & took it. So passing through Lancashire in a violent Manner, hee came to York, where hee joyned with the Earle of Newcastle's Forces against the Parliament Army, which had beseiged York, but were quite routed in the Fight; where as the Report is, were slain 6000 Men, all their Carriages taken, & 10000 Arms. July 16.

May 24. Coll: Mitton returned from London to Wem, & the same Night issued forth to Morton Corbett, & took 6 Load of Iron, & slew 10 of the Enemy which lay there in Garrison. Upon May 25, hee marcht towards Oswestry, between which Places & Shrewsbury, he took 8 Loads of Coll: Hunks's Goods, which came out of Ireland: viz: 6 Carts & 2 Waggons loaded with Tents, & rich Goods, being guarded with 4 Troops of Horse, & some Foot: but they being all beaten off, the Loads were all brought

[1644] weire saufe broughte to Wem, w^th^ smale or noe losse of men, havinge In his Company sixe score horse, & foure hundred foote soldye^rs^.

*Oswestry taken.* [June 22][1] The nexte weeke followinge, *Colonell Mytton* w^th^ some of *S^r^ Thomas midleton's* forces marched towards Oswestry: And fallinge upon the same, They tooke ytt and the Castle, w^th^ losse of ffoure men, And alsoe foure hundred p^r^sone^rs^ & three hundred Armes.

*Boulton and Liverpoole taken by the Prince.*[2] *Prince Rupert* w^th^ his Army beinge in Lancashire, marched from Barloe More over the fforde neere Eccles, And w^th^in twoe or three dayes after assaulted Boulton; And w^th^ losse of many on bothe sides, wonne ytt, and vsed much Creweltie by inhuman murthers in the Towne: And then marched to Liverpoole, & tooke that; where they vsed, by murdringe both olde & yonge, more Creweltie then theire was in any place since the begynnynge of the Warres, but att Bar-

to Wem, with small, or no Loss of Men: Hee had with him only 400 Foot & 120 Horse.

The Week following, Hee, with some of Sir Tho: Middleton's Forces, set upon Oswestry, & took it, with the Castle, with the Loss of but 4 Men. Hee had there 400 Prisoners, & 300 Arms.

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[1] See pamphlets reprinted in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 171-6.

[2] At first the Prince was repulsed; and some of the royalist prisoners were put to death on the walls. Earl Derby renewed the attack, and, no quarter being given, 1600 of the inhabitants of Bolton were mercilessly slain and the town sacked on 28 May 1644. The massacre at Liverpool on June 11th was less terrible, only because the greater part of the garrison had taken ship and sailed away the night before.

thomley: And soe marched throwe Lancashire att his pleasure, comyttinge many evill accons [actions], towards Yorke: and afterwards marchinge throughe Yorkshire came to Yorke, where hee and the *Earle of Newcastle*, Joynynge theire forces togeither, sett vpon the p'liam^t^ forces, w^ch^ then weire theire: But after a greate and bloddy battell [at Marston Moor, July 2, 1644] where many weire slayne, The Kinges ptie. was Rowted, & lost all theire ordnance, & many men, & much Armes, & Ammunycon.[1] [1644]

*Colonell Brereton retorned from London.*

On Midsom' daye 1644 *Colonell Brereton* retorned from London to Namptwiche. But the weeke before *S^r^ Thomas midleton* came back alsoe to Namptwiche, where the[y] contynued vntill ffrydaye afterwards: On Thursday the xxvij^th^ of June, the *Earle of Denbighe* w^th^ one troupe of horse came lykewyse to Namptwiche, quartring the rest of his horse att Whitchurche, & by the way as hee came; And then w^th^ their forces marched all togeither towards Lancashire, & kepte theire Randevous on Saturday vpon Rudheathe: vnto whom came the *Lorde Graye* &

On Thursday June 27. the E: of Denbigh came to Nantwich only with one Troop of Horse, the Rest being quartered at Whitchurch, & the Towns between Nantwich & Whitchurch: & on Friday they all marched together toward Lancashire, & on Red [Rud] Heath kept their Rendevouz; to whom came the

[1] By this Parliamentary victory the north of England was lost to Charles. Newcastle fled to Scarborough, and thence sailed for Hamburg. Rupert retired with the wreck of his army into Lancashire and thence to Bristol.

[1644] *S^r. John Gell,* w^th greate forces bothe of horse & foote. And from Rudheathe they marched altogeither to Knottesford, beinge in nu'ber aboute twelve thowsand.

*Colonell Marrow Rowted att Oswestrie.*

Then lette^rs came to theim from *Colonell Mytton* from Oswestry, that *Colonell Marrowe,* w^th foure thousand marched towards him, & intended to beseige him: whereupon the *Lorde of Denbighe, S^r. Thomas Midleton, Colonell George Bouthes* Regym^t, & *Colonell Maynwarynges* Regim^t vpon Sondaye the last of June 1644 marched from the rest of the Company to releeve Colonell Mytton att Oswestry (beinge then engaged): And all the Companyes in Namptwiche, excepting [the militia of] Buckley Hundred & the towne Companyes (w^ch weire lefte to tende the Towne w^th *Colonell Brooke* and *m^r. Marbury* Gou'no^rs) marched towards Whitchurche & Bunbury w^th all theire Carryages [*i.e.* baggage] to meete the reste of the Army: And meetinge all togeither on Monday the first of Julye

Lord Grey & Sir John* [Gell], with great Forces both of Horse & Foot, about 12000, & being at Knutsford, Letters came to them from Coll: Mitton, viz: that Coll: Marrow marched upon him, & intended to besiege him. Upon that, the E: of Denbigh, Sir Tho: Middleton, Coll: George Booth's Regiment, & Colonel Mainwaring's, upon Sunday June 30, marcht back to relieve Coll: Mitton, then engaged at Oswestry: & all the Souldiers in Nantwich, (save only they of Bukley Hundred, & the Town Companyes left with Coll: Brook & M^r. Marbury,) gathered themselves together, & on Munday July 1. marched towards

* The surname is omitted in the Cole MS., and in Poole's version of Burghall's *Providence Improved.*

1644, The[y] marched towards Oswestry: And vpon Tuesdaye the seconde of July, beinge come saufe thether, they fell vpon the Kinges ptie. about three a Clocke in the Afternoone: The fighte contynuynge vntill Tenne that Nighte very sore & equall: But then, ytt pleased God, to gyve the victory vnto the p'liam^t forces; soe that the Kinges ptie., after greate losse of men & many taken p^rsone^rs, fledd towards Shrowesbury. The p'liam^t forces beinge about fyve or sixe Thowsand, (as was thoughte) pursued theim; tooke many of theim p^rsoners,[1] killed many of theim, & tooke all theire Carryages, & Matches [?], & all their magazen. The foote did flinge awaye theire Armes, and All did Runne, some one way & some another; soe that they weire all scattred, quyte Rowted, beinge all this yeere in Chester, Shrowes- [1644]

Oswestry, & upon Tuesday, about 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon, they set on the Enemy. The fight continued very sore till 10, & then the Parliament obtained Victory. The Enemy, after great Loss of Men fled towards Shrewsbury, the Parliamenteers, being about 5 or 6000 pursued them, kill'd many in the Pursuit, took many Prisoners, & all their Carriages loaded with Victualls, & one with Magazine & Cloth. The Enemyes on Foot flung away their Arms, some one Way, & some another: so that all they could raise in Shrewsbury, Chester, or elsewhere, convenient for Service, were then routed and scattered.

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[1] Francis Lord Newport, son and heir of Earl Newport, was one of the prisoners taken in this pursuit. The Commons voted that Middleton should have the disposal of the estates of his father for the maintenance of his own regiment. Vicars gives particulars of prisoners and plunder. See *God's Ark*, pp. 266-8. See also, Letters from State Papers reprinted in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 177-188.

[1644] bury, & all the forces (w^ch they cold make) for the Kinge, in all those his Garrisons.

*Monford Bridge.* On Thursdaye the iiij of July 1644, the p'liam^t force tooke Monford Bridge, & some of the Kinges ptie. p^rsone^rs w^thout losse of any man.

On ffrydaye the[y] faced Shrowesbury and gave them theire an allaram; tooke some p^rsone^rs, and then returned to Wem.

On Saturdaye the[y] marched to Preece Heathe, & quartred In and about Whitchurch.

*Cholm'ley Howse yelded up.* And on Sondaye [7th July 1644] they marched towards Cholm'ley Howse in the Evenynge w^th three or foure peeces of Ordnance, & iiij cases of Drakes where the two voluntier Companyes from Nampt-wiche, w^th theire two Captyns, & other of the office^rs, *Captyn George Malbon,* and *Captain Thomas*

On Thursday July 4. the Parliamenteers took Montfort Bridge, without Loss of any. On Friday they faced Shrewsbury, gave them a strong Alarm, & took some Prisoners, & so returned to Wem. On Saturday they marched to Prees Heath, & quartered in & about Whitchurch.

Upon Sunday they march'd towards Cholmley House, with 3 or 4 Peices of Ordinance, & 4 Case of Drakes, where the 2 Nantwich Companyes, Volunteers, with their Capt: George & Tho: Malton,* guarding their great Peice of Ordinance, from

* Burghall gives these names as *Malton*; but they were, in reality, the two sons of *Thomas Malbon*, the author of the Civil War Account; who mentions that they also successfully attacked *Dirtwich*, in this county, on the 12th Sept., 1644; which circumstance Burghall omits.

*Malbon,* gardinge the greate Brasse peece of ord- [1644]
nance did meete theim. The Mondaye mornynge towards springe of daye the[y] had planted theire ordnance (the greatest of theim) w$^{th}$in Pistoll Shott of the Howse : And about three or foure of the Clocke in the mornynge, after they had Som'ond the Howse, The[y] playd vpon ytt w$^{th}$ theire ordnance & shott ytt many tymes throwe, (being a tymber howse). They in the Howse, w$^{th}$ theire Musketts, did shoot very fast att theim & about fyve a Clocke in the mornynge the[y] killed one *Rauffe Mylton,* a seriante vnder maior Croxton. But the p'liam$^{t}$ forces playinge on the howse w$^{th}$ theire ordnance & smale shott contynuallie, did beate theim furthe of the Howse to theire workes, where they did shoote & maynteyne the servys (beinge but a fewe in nu'ber) very bravelie; & killed *maior Pynkney,* a brave com'ander, and about foure or fyve more[1] of the p'liam$^{t}$ side. But the

Nantwich met them; & that Night, ere Spring of Day, they planted all their great Peices within Pistol-Shot of the House. About 3 or 4 of the Clock in the Morning, after they had sumoned the House, they play'd upon it, & shot it through many Times. They in the House shot lustily at them with their Muskets, & kill'd one Ralph Milton, Serjant to Major Croxton. The Beseigers still play'd upon them, with their

[1] According to the Parish Register, eight soldiers were buried at Nantwich on the 9th July, 1644; amongst them are mentioned *Major Pinkey,* and *Serjeant Milton*; and probably the others were slain at Cholmondeley and brought to Nantwich for interment. Their names are :—"*Richard Boand,* soldier; *Thomas Brassell,* sergant; *Robert Hool,* soldier; *William Davenport,* soldier; *John ffearnough,* soldier; *Raphe Milton,* Sergant; *Raphe Meare,* soldier; *Eswell Pinkey,* Mager."

[1644] same daye, beinge the eighte of Julye 1644, they att the Howse, p'ceyvinge they weire not able to stand out, about on[e] a Clocke in thafter noone, havinge a fierce assaulte made vpon theim, called for Quarter; w$^{ch}$ was Graunted; and *Captyn Horton* (Captyn of the Howse) lett downe the drawe Bridge; opened the Gates; and the Lord of Denbigh, Colonell Bouthe, & the reste of theire officers, & some of theire Soldye$^{rs}$ entred the Howse; where they tooke Captyn Horton, & the reste in the Howse p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$, beinge in nu'ber about three score and sixe, w$^{th}$ all theire Armes & p'vision, leavinge the goods in the Howse a praye for the Soldye$^{rs}$, whoe pillaged the same. And then leavinge *Captyn Lownes* w$^{th}$ his Soldye$^{rs}$ in the Howse, they all marched w$^{th}$ theire prysone$^{rs}$, Ordnance, & Carryages to Namptwiche that Nighte. Non in the howse of the Kinges side was either slayn or hurt.

Ordinance, & small Shot, beat them at last out of the House to their Works, where they continued their Valour to the utmost, themselves being few, killing 4 or 5 more of them, & Major Pinkney, a brave Comander: but being too weak to hold out any longer, about one of the Clock in the Afternoon, they called for Quarter; which was given them accordingly: & M$^{r}$. Rob. Horton, Captain of the House, let down the Draw Bridge, opened the Gates: so the Lord Denbigh, Coll: Booth &c. entred the House, & took the said Captain, & all in the House, Prisoners, in all about 66, with all their Arms & Provision; leaving Captain Lerns [*sic*] in the House, with his Souldiers; & so marched that Night to Nantwich with their Prisoners, Ordinance & Carriages. There were none in the House either slain or hurt: the next Day after, being Tuesday, they held a publick Thanksgiving.

*Thanksgiving at Namptwiche.* The nexte daye afterwards beinge [1644] Tuesdaye, att Nanptwiche was kepte a soleme daye of thankesgyvinge.

*Prince Rupert Rowted at Yorke.* On Tuesdaye the second of July 1644 *Prince Rupert* was Rowted att Yorke[1] havinge sixe thowsand of his Army slayne, wounded and taken p^r^sone^rs^; xxvj peeces of ordnance, all his carryage & seyventeene thowsand pounds in money (as was reported); But not w^th^out losse of a thowsand men on the p'liam^t^ side.

*The Citie [of York] deliu'ed upp.* The siege being laid closse to Yorke by the p'liam^t^ forces ymedyatlie there-vpon, (althoughe ytt had byn laid to ytt before) on Tuesdaye the xvj^th^ of July 1644, upon Composicon, the Citie was deliu'ed vpp; And three score Thowsand poundes was to bee paid to the p'liam^t^ to save the Citie from plu'dring; And vij C [700] of Prince Ruperts soldye^rs^, officer^s^, to marche awaye w^th^ theire Armes, Collo^rs^ flyinge, & Matches

Besides the great Loss Prince Rupert had at York of Men & Arms before mentioned [p. 131], it is credibly reported, that they lost 1700[l] in ready Cash. The Parliament had 1000 Men slain. The Seige was now again strongly set, But the Beseiged, knowing that there was no hopes of helping the City long, yealded upon Terms of Composition: viz: that the City should pay 6000[l] to be freed from Plunder; that 700 of Prince Rupert's should march away with their Arms, Colours flying,

[1] See p. 133, where Malbon has already alluded to Marston Moor battle. The Royalists lost in killed about 4,000.

[1644] lighte att bothe ends : and to goe to any three of the nexte Garrisons they playsed [pleased] : And all the reste to remayne p^r^sone^rs^, many of theim w^ch^ weire supposed to marche awaye w^th^ theire Armes from Yorke, weire by the Soldye^rs^ for p'liam^t^ disarmed of all the[y] carryed, and weire then turned oute to goe whether the[y] wold, In revenge & requytall of the wronge done vnto theim by the Kinges ptie. att Harden [Hawarden] Castle & Newarke.

*Arms sente to Namptwiche.* On Saturdaye the xx^th^ of July 1644 *Colonell Brereton* did send fyve hundred & fyftie Armes to Namptwiche ; And a litle afterwards retorned thether himselfe.

*Prince Ruperts Regym^t^ taken att Welshpoole.*[1] On Mondaye the fyfth of August 1644 *Colonell Mytton* & *S^r^ Thomas midleton* w^th^ theire Army marched to Wilshepoole [Welshpool] in Wales ; where Prince Ruperts Regym^t^ weire quartred & theire tooke of

Matches light at both Ends, & to have Liberty to go to any of their next Garrisons at their Choice ; & all the Rest to be taken Prisoners. But this Condition, (as it's reported) was not kept : for tho' those priviledged Souldiers marcht out of York with their Arms ; yet were they after disarmed & all they had taken from them by the Parliamenteers : & the Pretence of this Breach of Covenant was, that they had been so used at Newark & Harden. [Hawarden].

As Prince Rupert's Forces returned from York, Sir Tho: Middleton & Coll: Mitton set upon them, 5 Aug: & in the Night surprized them in the Quarters at Welshpool in Wales, & there took 350 & odd Horses, & above 60 Prisoners.

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[1] See Vicars, *Burning Bush*, p. 5 ; and *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 64, reprinted in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., p. 194.

theim in theire quarte[rs] three hundred fyftie & odd horse, & threescore & odd p[r]sone[rs]. [1644]

*Parker executed.* Upon Saturdaye the x[th] of August 1644 one *Parker* a troup'[er] vnder *S[r] Thomas mydleton* was adiudged to dye by a Councell of warr in Namptwiche for the wilfull Kyllinge *m[r] Randull Smythe* & on[e] . . . . *Browne* in haslington, & wounded many othe[rs], (beinge either madd or drunke); And on Tuesdaye next followinge he was executed att Namptwiche, and afterwards hanged in cheynes on Haslington Heath, neere vnto the place where hee comitted the murthers.

*Colonell Marrowe slayne.* On Sondaye the xviij[th] of Auguste 1644 *Colonell Marrowe* yssued furthe of Chester w[th] all or most of the horse & foote theire, and marched towardes Northwyche; by the waye they plu'dred some poore mens Cattell; But some of theim appeareing vnto the Townesmen on Hertford [Hartford] Greene, The forces in Towne yssued

One Parker, being drunk, murthered Mr. Randle Smith, & one Brown, as he came from an Alehouse. He confest to mee, that he had been a great Sabbath Breaker, & very disobedient to his Parents, & therefore the Hand of God was just upon him.*

Upon Sunday, 18 Aug: Coll: Marrow issued from Chester, with the greatest Part of Horse & Foot they had there, & advanct towards Northwich. By the Way, they plundered some poor Men's Cattle; & some of the Front appearing to the Townsmen

* "Mr. Burghall was a very faithful Confessor, thus to reveal the Confession of his Penitent. Sabbath breaking, as they called it, was one of their most capital Sins." (*Cole.*)

[1644] furthe vpon theim; w^ch they p'ceyvinge, fledd before theim towards Sandywaye; The Townesmen pursuynge theim, (vnadvysedlye to[o] farr) [so] that the Kinges ptie. tooke fyfteene of theim p^rsone^rs & carryed theim awaye; But Colonell Marrowe was shott in Sandywaye by one lyinge vnder a hedge, & was carryed alyve into Chester, where hee dyed the nexte daye afterwards.[1]

*Horses & p^rsoners taken att Tarvyn.*

On Tuesdaye the xx^th of Auguste 1644 The p'liamt forces from Northwiche, Halton, and *Colonell Brereton's* Horse fell vpon the Kinges ptie. in theire Quarte^rs att Tarvyn & thereabouts: And tooke betwixte twoe or three hundred of theire horse & ffortie and fyve p^rsone^rs,[2] and killed about fyfteene of theim, onelie w^th losse of one man.

on Hartford Green, the Souldiers issued forth: whereupon they retreated; but following on too far after them, they faced about, & took 15 Prisoners, & carried them away. In the Skirmish Coll: Marrow was shot near Sandy Way, and was carried back to Chester, when hee dyed the Day following. He was a valiant Souldier, a great Plunderer; his Loss much lamented by the Royalists.

Upon Tuesday following, the Northwich Souldiers with the Assistance of Sir W^m. Brereton's Horse, & some from Halton

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[1] He was buried at the Cathedral, according to the following curious entry in St. Oswald's Register, Chester:—

"1644. Corranall Marrow buried the 22^th of August."

[2] Of these prisoners were William St. Lawrence and John Gandy; two youths who had run away from school at Bury in Suffolk to join Prince Rupert about two years before. (See Webb's *Memorials of Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 85, note.) See also a pamphlet entitled, *A true Relation of two great victories*, &c., 1644, an abstract of which is given in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., p. 196.

*Enemy driven furthe of Lancashire into Cheshire.*

On ffryday mornynge (beinge Bartholomewe Eve) [23rd Aug.] Newes was sente to Namptwiche, to the Councill of Warr theire, That a thowsand of the horse of the Kinges ptie. weire taken in Lancashire; foure hundred & odd p[r]sone[rs], & many Slayne; And that they had dryven those of theim w[ch] weire lefte furthe of Lancashire into Cheshire. [1644]

*The battell att Oldcastle.*[1]

On Sondaye evenynge the 25th of Auguste 1644, the Kinges ptie. beinge about Malpas, *Colonell Brereton*, almost w[th] all the horse and foote in Namptwiche to the nu'ber of eighte or Nyne hundred, marched towards theim; whoe, havinge intelligence of theire Comynge, tooke their ground on Oldcastle heathe, a waytinge Colonell Brereton's

Castle, set upon the Enemy at Tarvin, & thereabouts, in their Quarters; & for the 15 Prisoners lost 2 Dayes before they brought back 45 Prisoners, killed 15, & between 2 or 300 Horse, with the Loss of a man only.

Upon Friday Morning Aug: 25 [*sic*, for 23] Newes was brought to the Counsil of War at Nantwich, that a 1000 of the Enemyes Horse was taken in Lancashire, 400 & odd taken Prisoners, & many slain; which being driven out of Lancashire came to Cheshire, & marching as far as Malpas, & the Parts adjoining, upon Sunday Evening Aug: the 26 [*sic* for 25] [met?] Namptwich Forces to the Number of 8 or 900, at Old Castle Heath,

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[1] See pamphlet entitled, *The Successe of our Cheshire Forces*, &c., 1644; reprinted in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 198-200.

[1644] comynge; whoe on bothe sides fell to the fighte soe soone as they came togeither, very bravely and boldly, vntill the[y] came to hande blowes: But in the ende, the Kinges ptie. beinge aboute twoe thowsand & a halfe (all horse) ffledd. Theire weire slayne of theim *Colonell Vayne, Colonell Conyer, Seriant Maior Hesketh,* & about three or ffoure score more; And taken p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$ of theim *Maior Cromwell, maior maxye, Captyn Clauthorne, Captyn Claveringe, Captyn Parker, Lieutenant Mountayne,* and Nyneteene Co$\bar{m}$on soldye$^{rs}$: On the p'liam$^{t}$ ptie. was wounded Lieuten$^{t}$ Colonell Johnes, & noe more; & seyven wounded, but not mortally; w$^{ch}$ was rather a miracle then a wonder (God delte soe gracyouslie w$^{th}$ theim); And on Mondaye nexte after they, w$^{th}$ theire p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$ retorned all agayne to Namptwiche.

where they fought it out bravely on both Sides: till at last coming to Hand Blows, the Cavaliers being at least 2500, all fled. There were slain of them Coll: Vane, Coll: Coniers, Serjeant-Major Hesketh, & 50 (as some 60) co$\bar{m}$on Souldiers; & taken Prisoners Major Crumwell, Major Maxey, Capt: Clawtherne, Capt: Clavering, Capt: Parker, Lieut: Mountain & 19 Comon Souldiers.

On the Parliament Side there were wounded Lieu$^{t}$. Coll: Jones; * not one slain: which (saith my Author) is rather a Miracle, than a Wonder. Upon Munday next after, they returned with their Prisoners to Namptwich.

Friday 5† all the Army, except Coll: Croxton, & the Town Companyes, marched out of Town again; came to Tarvin, &

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* "I have here followed my Original both in Orthography & Grammar." (*Cole.*)

† The month is omitted in the MS. The date should be Aug. 30.

*Tarvyn made a Garrison Markett Towne.*

On ffrydaye the xxx[th] of August [1644] 1644, All the forces att Namptwiche, excepte *maior Croxtons* & the Towne companyes, marched furthe to Midlewiche, where the[y] quartred that Nighte ; And the nexte daye to Northwiche & greate Budworthe, & then to Tarvyn, w[ch] the[y] fortefied w[th] stronge works; made ytt a Markett Towne; & therein putt a Garrison: And another garrison at Huxley Hall & another att Olton [Oulton] Hall neere litle Budworthe.

*Montgomery Castle deliu'[ered] vpp.*

On Wednesdaye the fourthe of September 1644, *S[r] Thomas Middleton* w[th] some forces marched towards Mountgomery Castle w[ch] was kepte by the *Lord Harbart* [Herbert][1] agaynst the Parliam[t]: But vpon theire approche thether the said Lord, did quyetlie deliu'[er] ytt vpp to the said S[r] Thomas. And at Newe Towne the same weeke hee tooke xxxvj Barrells of Powder w[ch] was sente from

fortified it with strong Work, put a Garrison therein; another at Huxley Hall, & another at ———, near Little Budworth.

Upon Wedn: Sept: 4. Sir Tho: Middleton marched with some Forces toward Montgomery Castle, which was quietly delivered to [*sic* for *by*] the Lord Herbert.

At Newtown, the same Week, hee took 36 Barrels of Powder, which was sent from Bristoll to furnish Chester.

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[1] Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, called Black Herbert, had held Montgomery in a sort of undisputed neutrality ; he had evaded the reception of a royalist garrison on Feb. 27, 1643-4; and he seems to have distrusted both parties in a letter to his son Rupert on Septr. 5th, 1644 (Webb's *Memorials of Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 83.)

[1644] Bristoe [Bristol] to haue byn [been] broughte to Kinges ptie. in Chester.

*Morton Corbett taken.*[1] On Sondaye the viij$^{th}$ of September 1644, The *Lorde Calvyn, Lieften$^{t}$-Colonell Cootes & Captyn ffynche* w$^{th}$ all theire companyes (beinge come a litle before to Wem from Namptwiche), did marche to Morton Corbett howse; and by assaulte tooke ytt, & in the same three score & odd p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$.

*Battell at Montgomery.* Shortlie after the yeldinge vpp of Mount-gomery Castle, seige was laid vnto ytt by the *Lord Herberts sonne,* (his father beinge in the Castle) and by all the forces from Shrowesbury, Ludloe,[2] and all w$^{ch}$ cold bee gotten in Wales, to the nu'ber of three or foure Thowsand; And vpon Mondaye, Tuesdaye, & wednesdaye nexte after, Intelligence was broughte to Tarvyn of the

Upon Sunday 8 Sept: the Lord Calvin, Lieut: Cootes his Company & Capt: Flinch,* with his Firelocks, did, by Assault, take Morton House, & 60 & odd persons in it.

Shortly after the Yeilding up of Montgomery Castle, Seige was laid to it again. Lord Herbert's Son (his Father being in the Castle) & all the Forces that could be raised in Shrewsbury, Ludlow, & other Places in Wales, to the Number of 3 or 4000, were employed in that Buisness. Intelligence of this came to the Parliamenteers of Tarvin, upon Munday after, whereupon Sir W$^{m}$. Brereton with his Forces, being assisted with Sir W$^{m}$.

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[1] Morton Corbett, a garrisoned mansion-house in Salop, was surprised and taken in the night by five men; a detailed account is given in Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 24.

[2] Under Lord Byron and Sir Michael Erneley.

* Query, *Hinch*, or *Flinch*; the name should be *Finch*.

Kinge att[1] Mountgomery: And thereupon *Colonell* [1644]
*Brereton*, w[th] his forces, beinge assisted w[th] *S[r] John Meldrum* (gen'[er]all in these ptes. [parts]) & *S[r] Willm. ffearefax* [Fairfax] w[th] xxxij Trowpers of horse, came furthe of Lancashire, & alsoe other companyes from Stafford (makeing theim vp a greate Army) marched towards Mountgomery, w[th] intente to Rease the Seige; And vpon Tuesdaye, the xvij of September they releeved the Castle. And vpon Wednesdaye the xviij of September they mett the Kinges forces w[th] whome they had a greate & bloddy battell w[ch] contynued longe; But in conclusion (throughe God's assistaunce) The p'liam[t] Army prevayled, & Rowted all the foote; And tooke p[r]sone[rs] *Gen'all Tilsley, Colonell Broughton*, Nyne Captyns, xij Ensignes, xvij Lieuten[ts], xiiij hundred officers & Comon Soldye[rs], & slewe aboute fyve hundred. On the p'liam[t] ptie., *S[r] willm. ffearefax* was slayne, &

Meldrun,* & Sir W[m]. Fairfax, with 32 Troops of Horse out of Lancashire, & other Companyes out of Stafford, to a very great Army, marched towards Montgomery for the removing of the Seige: & upon Tuesday Sept: 17 they releived the Castle, & the next Day fought a great Battle with the Enemy: but in Conclusion the Parliament Forces prevailed, & routed all their Foot. They took Prisoners Generall Tilsey, Coll: Broughton, 9 Captains, 12 Ensigns, 17 Lieutenants, 1400 Officers & Comon Souldiers, & slew about 500. On the Parliament Side was slain Sir Wm. Fairfax, & 10 more, about 50 were wounded. So on Munday Sept: 25, [*sic*]

[1] This "intelligence" was a false rumour. The King was then at Oxford.

* Sir Wm. Meldrun, *sic* for Sir John Meldrum.

[1644] about tenne more, & betwixt xl & fyftie wounded.[1] And on Mondaye the xxiij of September, Colonell Brereton w^th^ many of his company retorned backe to Namptwiche.

*Pannes taken from Dirtewiche.*[2] On Thursdaye the xij^th^ of September 1644, *Captyn George Malbon* and *Captyn Thomas Malbon*, w^th^ theire twoe Companyes marched to Malpas, where the bodie for the p'liam^t^ side then laye; & theire they laye in the Churche all Nighte, havinge but sorry quarter: And on ffrydaye they marched to Dirtewiche, and from thence broughte awaye sixe of theire Iron pannes, w^th^ w^ch^ they made theire salte; & many of their Irones belonginge to that worke, to Namptwiche, & retorned all in saufety.

*Wirrall.* On Saturdaye the xxj of the same moneth, Lancashire forces came ou' [over] the water into Wirrall in Cheshire, & tooke from the

Sir W^m^. Brereton & many other Forces returned safe to Nantwich.

Upon' Saturday Sept: 21^st^, Lancashire Men came over the Water into Worall, & took from them a great Peice of Ordinance, which was sent from Chester, & 60 Prisoners.

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This battle was a hand to hand fight with pikemen on the hillside; and, like the battle at Nantwich, was lost to the Cavaliers, owing largely to a sally made by the besieged on the rear of the royalist army. Sir William Fairfax heroically led the charge up-hill, which broke the Royalists' ranks, but at the cost of his own life. ("Letter Book of Sir William Brereton," vol. ii., p. 74; Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 31-33.) Major Lowthian and his Cheshire foot soldiers did good service in this action. Phillips (*Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 201-209) reprints Parliamentary accounts of this battle by Brereton, Middleton, and Meldrum; with a long list of prisoners and slain: and royalist accounts by Ernley and Trevor.

[2] N.B.—This is omitted by Burghall.

Kinges ptie. a greate peece of ordnance sente from Chester & three score p^r^sone^rs^. [1644]

*Executions att Namptwiche.* On the xxvj of September 1644, Theire weire foure Soldye^rs^ hanged att Namptwiche, beinge soe adiudged by the Councell of Warr, for Runnynge from theire Cullors to the Enymy, w^ch^ weire taken att Mountgomery, viz: *Willm. Walley, Richard Hollenworth, Willm. Strongitharm* and *Willm. Poole.*

*Red Castle taken.*[1] On Wednesdaye the Second of October 1644, was taken by *Sr Thomas midleton* & his forces, Redcastle, neere Welshepoole, together w^th^ greate welthe, & many p^r^sone^rs^; amongest whome was the *Lorde Powys* & his sonne, & three score p^r^sone^rs^, & all or the most of the Papiste goodes in that Countie, viz: fyve Thowsand pounds in Silver & Golde, & fyve thowsande poundes in goodes (as was reported).

Upon Wednesday Morning Oct: 2 Red Castle, near to Welshpool, was taken by Sir Tho: Middleton, where was the Lord Paris [*sic* for Powis] & his Son, & 60 more that were taken Prisoners; & all the Papists Goods almost in all that Country, were found in the Castle (as the Report was) 5000^l.^ in Silver and Gold, & the Value 5000^l.^ more in Goods.

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[1] Red, or Powys, Castle was one of the strongest of the royalist holds in North Wales. The outer-gate was burst open by a petard, and the Castle carried by storm, notwithstanding a defence with showers of stones. (Webb's *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 133, n. See, also, Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 40; and Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 212-13.)

Lord Powys was sent prisoner to Oswestry, and ultimately to London.

[1644] *Ruthin taken.* About the xviij$^{th}$ of the same moneth of October, Wrythen [Ruthin] Towne in Wales was alsoe taken by the same *S$^{r}$ Thomas* & his forces; some slayne, & some taken p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$, & many pursued for foure myles & dryven thence; whereas the Kinges ptie. had entended to haue fortefied that Towne & made the same a Garryson towne agaynst the Parliam$^{t}$.

*ffarne.* On Tuesdaye nighte the xxix$^{th}$ of October 1644 *Maior Croxton* & *Captyn Lownes* w$^{th}$ theire foote Companyes & *Captyn* . . . . . [name not given] with a troupe of horse, marched to ffarne, where *Colonell Egerton* and the Kinges side quartred; & theire suddenly sett on theim; slewe twoe or three and tooke some of theim p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$, & the rest escaped. And the[y] tooke aboute fyftie horse and three score Armes from theim; And retorned saufe to Namptwiche w$^{th}$out any either slayne or wounded.

*Leverpoole deliu'ed vpp.* On ffrydaye the first of November 1644, beinge Alhallowe day, the Parliam$^{t}$ forces marched to Lev'[er]poole, (beinge then

Oct: 18 Wrythen, which the Enemy thought to have fortefied, was taken by Sir Tho: Middleton, w[h]ere some were slain, some taken Prisoners, & those that fled were pursued 4 Miles, and so quite driven thence.

Upon Tuesday Oct: 20. [*sic* for 29] Major Croxton, Capt: Lain, [*sic*] & another Captain, with their Companyes, & a Troop of Horse, went to Farn, where Coll: Edgerton, & some other Companyes were quartered, where they slew 3 or 4 of the Enemy, & took about 50.

Upon Friday Nov: 1 Liverpool was delivered to the Parliament, where besides the Governor & other Officers, 500 comon Soul-

helde by the Kinges ptie.) But *S^r Rob^te Byron*, after somons & some small assaulte, deliu'ed vpp the Towne, himselfe (beinge Governo^r), one Colonell, twoe Liefte^ns, [Lieut.-Colonels] twoe maio^rs, *m^r James Massye*, xxv Captyns, xviij Liefte^ns, xxv Ensignes, tenne o^r eleaven hundred Armes, foure Barrells of Powder, xiiij peeces of ordnance, & fyve hundred Soldye^rs, all to the p'liam^t ptie.[1] [1644]

*Beeston Castle.* On Saturdaye before, the xxvj of October 1644, The[y] had intelligence att Namptwiche, That the Kinges ptie. att Beeston Castle had an intente to haue Robbed and spoyled Namptwiche Markett folks att theire retorne home: But the forces from Tarvyn did p^rvente theim; & sente xij of theire Souldye^rs neere the Castle whoe broughte awaye the Enymyes Cattell, w^ch when they in the Castle p^rceyved, yssued furthe to haue rescowed theim; But the bodie of horse from Namptwiche beinge on Tilstone heathe, and *Liefte^n Colonell Massye*, havinge layd some of his Company in Ambushm^t, drewe from the Castle towards Tilstone Heathe; And Tarvyn forces, beinge gotten betwixte the Enymye and the Castle, vpon retreate of the Enymye towards the Castle, havinge espyed the Bodie of Namptwiche

diers were taken, 14 Peices of Ordinance, many Arms, & 4 Barrels of Powder.

About this Time some Souldiers from Nantwich & Tarvin, surprized them of Beeston Castle, being issued forth only to plunder, and rob the People, as they came from Nantwich Market,

[1] See also Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 62.

[1644] horse on Tilston Heathe, did sett upon theim, and tooke aboute xx^tie of theim p^rsone^rs, & xij of theire horse, and the reste of theim fledd to the Castle; w^thout losse of any on the p'liamt ptie.

*Catle taken from Beeston Castle*

Upon Mondaye Nighte nexte afterwards *Captyn Gymbold* marched w^th his Company from Namptwiche to Beeston Castle, from whence hee tooke thirtie seyven good Oxen and Kyne from theym, w^ch they broughte to Namptwiche: And aboute twoe or three Nights afterwards, some of *maior Croxtons* Soldie^rs fetched from thence threescore more; where twoe of his soldie^rs weire hurte.

*Beeston Castle beseiged.*

Colonell Brereton & the Councell of Warr att Namptwiche, receyvinge intelligence that they in Beeston Castle weire in want of Matches, fewell and other Necessaries, did on Saturday the xvj^th of November 1644, w^th most of the companyes in Namptwiche, marche to Beeston Castle, and theire placed a stronge Garrison

& took 20 Prisoners, & 12 Horse. About the same Time Capt: Gimbold fetcht* from the said Castle 37 good Oxen & Kine: & within 2 or 3 Nights after Major Croxton's Souldiers fetcht 60 more; & then 2 of them were slain.

The Counsell of War at Nantwich, hearing that the Enemy in Beeston Castle were in want of Match, Fewel, and other necessaryes, they caused a strong Seige to be laid against it, Oct: 16 [*sic* for Nov. 16] & kept them, that they could not stir forth;

* "I have somewhere before observed that this Historian makes robbing and fetching convertible Terms according to the People he is speaking of." (*Cole.*)

neere the same soe that they in the Castle durst not sturr furthe; yett notw^th^standinge on Saturdaye Nighte some of theim fyred one Owyns Barne, standinge att the foote of the hill, & burned the same Barne and the wheate therein. [1644]

*Captyn George Beckett dyed.*

On Sondaye the xvij^th^ of November 1644, *Captyn George Beckett*, beinge wounded two monthes before att Shocklage [Shocklach] dyed att Namptwiche; and was seemlye buryed the nexte daye in the Heighe Chauncell, neere the Communyon Table.[1]

*Holte Bridge blocked vp.*

On Tuesdaye the third of December 1644, The p'liam^t^ forces marched to ffarne & blocked vp Holte Bridge, & made a litle worke att th'end towards ffarne: But they in the Castle in the Nighte made a Bridge of Boats over the Ryver Dye [Dee] & came vpon theim, & did some harme.

*The murthers att Beeston Castle.*

On Saturdaye the vij of December 1644, xxvj of the Soldie^rs^ w^ch^ laye in Garrison about the Castle, beinge in one Owens howse standinge att the foote of the Castle hyll att Dynn'[er], & very carelesse, Aboute

but one Night they burnt one Owen's Barn, at the Bottom of the Hill [and] some Wheat in it.

Upon Saturday Dec: 7. about 26 Souldiers dining at the said

[1] This burial is not recorded in the Parish Register; but "a stone in the middle of the Chancell" was placed to memory of "Captaine George Beckit, son of Geo. B. of Soo [? Sound] yeoman, bur^d^ Nov. 18. 1644." (*Harl. MSS.* 2151.)

[1644-5] fourtie or fyftie of theim yssued furthe of the Castle by a pryvatt waye, And fallinge suddenlye vpon theim did kyll, wound, & Burne theim all (havinge sett the howse on ffyer) savinge twoe old men, w^ch^ they tooke p^r^sone^rs^ w^th^ theim into the Castle, whither they retorned w^th^out losse of any one.

*Tattnall* [*Tattenhall.*] Vpon Thursdaye the ix^th^ of January 1644[-5], The Kinges ptie. yssued furthe of Chester & in the Nighte came to Tatnall; And theire the[y] tooke many of *Colonell Leighes* horse, Armes, and some men of his troupe, beinge of the p'liam^t^ ptie., In theire quarte^rs^, and tooke theim to Chester, w^th^out losse of any on theire side.

*Audford.* [*Aldford.*] On Saturday the xi^th^ of January, *Colonell Brookes* troupe, quarteringe att Audforde [Aldford], weire suddenlie surprysed by theim from Chester & many of his horse, Armes & men taken awaye by theim to Chester p^r^sone^rs^: Amongest theim weire taken *Captyn Warburton* & *Captyn Stewkley* as comon troupe^rs^ p^r^sone^rs^; And they retorned to Chester w^th^out losse of any one.

*Barrowe.* On Mondaye Nighte the xij^th^ of January 1644[-5], *Captyn Edwards* troupe, beinge quartred att Barrowe, weire by theim from

Owen's House, were set upon by about 40 or 50 of the Castle Souldiers, who privately sallied out, set the House on Fire, & burnt & killed them all, taking 2 old Men Prisoners: & so returned again into the Castle.

Upon Thursday Jan: 9* Coll: Brook's Troop being at Aldford, were suddenly set upon by the Enemy from Chester, & many of

* *Sic* in the MS.; but observe Burghall's confusion of dates and events.

Chester suddenly surprysed, and many of his men, [1644-5] horse and Armes taken and carryed awaye to Chester w^th^out losse of any of theim of Chester.

*Twoe Irishe hanged.*

On ffrydaye the xvij of January 1644[-5], Twoe native Irishe borne, viz.: *Derby Covam & Mortoughe Colane* w^ch^ weire taken p^r^sone^rs^ att Audforde [Aldford], when *Colonell Brookes* troupes weire some of theim taken in theire quarte^rs^ by them of Chester, were tryed by the Councell of Warr, and hanged att Namptwiche accordinge to an ordinance of Parliam^t^.[1]

*Christleton Battell.*

Vpon Saturdaye the xviij^th^ of January 1644[-5], Cheshire forces to a considerable Company, beinge in theire quarte^rs^ att Christleton, a myle from Chester Citie; they from

them taken: amongst whom were Capt: Warburton & Capt: Stuckley.

Upon Munday Night, Capt: Edwards's Troop, being quartered at Barrow, were by the same Enemy surprized, & many taken, with their Horse and Arms.

Upon Friday Jan: 17. 2 native Irish Men, viz.: Darby Covan & Mortough Colane, were hanged at Nantwich, by Order of Parliament.*

Upon Saturday Jan: 18. the Cheshire Forces for the Parliament to a considerable Number, being quartered at Chrislington, a Mile from Chester, the Enemy raised what Forces they could,

[1] The Ordinance of Parliament, dated Octr. 24th, 1644, directed that every Irishman taken either at sea or on land in England and Wales should be put to death without mercy.

* "It must be an infamous Parliament that would give such an Order! Can one conceive there could be such civilized Savages as these cut-throat Parliament Men, who would give Orders to hang a Couple of poor Men merely for being native Irish? But such were the Monsters that cut off the Earl of Strafford, Arch B^p^ Laud, & King Charles's Heads." (*Cole.*)

[1644-5] the Citie yssued furthe w$^{th}$ all or most of the forces they cold Rayse, to the nu'ber of fyve or sixe hundred horse & eighte hundred ffoote, marchinge towards Christleton, thinkinge to haue taken theim in theire quarte$^{rs}$, as they had donne some othe$^{rs}$ before, but weire deceived, for they in Christleton havinge intelligence of theire com̄ynge, by theire watche vpon the Steeple, p'ceyvinge how the[y] marched and placed theire Ambuscadoes on bothe sides the Lane from Boughton to the Glasse howse, made theim selves redye to gyve theim meetinge. ffirst theire forlorne hope came vpp, vpon whome they from Christleton sett & made theim quickly retreate to the bodie of theire Army. But they beinge well followed, they fell vpon the Bodie of the Enymy & Rowted theim, beatinge some of theim backe into the Citie, & some into the Ryver Dye [Dee]; And all the rest of theim fledd, some one waye & some another, flynginge theire Armes awaye, soe that many of theim weire slayne & wounded. There weire taken p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$ *Colonell Werden, Colonell Vane, Lieften$^{t}$ Colonell Graye,*

to about 800 Foot & 5 or 600 Horse, & came upon them, thinking to have overthrown them in their Quarters: but they hearing of their Coming, set a Watch on the Steeple, & seeing how they marched, set Ambuscadoes on both Sides the Lane (from Boughton to the Glass House), & so gave them the Meeting; & their Forlorn Hope coming first up were made to retreat to the Body of their Army: the Parliamenteers following on, encountred with the Army, routed them & beat them back, some into the City, some into the River Dee; & the Rest were scattered, some one Way, and some another, leaving their Arms behind them: so that many were wounded, & many slain: & there were taken, Coll:

*Maior Goughe, Captyn Harryngton, & Captyn Warde,* three Ensignes, xj Lieften^ts^, aboue twelve hundred Comon Soldie^rs^, a greate store of Armes.[1] The Comon Soldie^rs^ were most of theym Chester men, as Shoemake^rs^, Cobble^rs^, Taylo^rs^, Barbe^rs^, and the lyke. Theire was taken by theim of the Citie *Captyn*[2] . . . [name not given], his horse beinge slayne vnder him; *Captyn Sankie,* shott in the shoulder, *Lieften^t^ Colonell Johnes,* a litle hurte & aboute viij or tenne killed or wounded. The reporte was that theire weire C [100] of theim of the Citie sore wounded & aboute xl^tie^ [40] drowned in the Reever. *James Poole, Esq.* was wounded & broughte p^r^sone^r^ to Namptwiche where he shortlie dyed. [1644-5]

*A daye of Thankesgyvinge.*

On Thursdaye the xxiij of January 1644[-5], there was helde att Namptwiche A Solem daye of thankesgyvinge for deliu'inge the Towne, when ytt was beseiged &

Warden, Coll: Vane, Lieut: Coll: Gray, Major Gough, Capt: Harrington, Capt: Ward, 3 Ensigns, 7 Lieutenants, & about 1200 comon Souldiers, with great Store of Arms. On the Parliament Side, Capt: Sanky was shot in the Shoulder, & another Captain his Horse being slain under him; Lieut:-Coll: Jones a little hurt, & about 8 or 10 killed & wounded. The Report was, that 100 of the Enemy was sore wounded, & about 40 drowned in the River.

Thursday Jan: 23. was a solemn Day of Thanksgiving at Nantwich, both for removing the great Seige that Time Twelve month,

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[1] Brereton's account of this battle, with a fuller list of prisoners, was printed in *Perfect Passages,* No. 14, Jan. 22, 1645: reprinted in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales,* vol. ii., pp. 225-227.

[2] Probably, Captain Blackwell. (*Ibid.*). Observe, Burghall omits the name.

[1644-5] assaulted that tyme twelve monthes, & for all other of Gods greate blessings, p^r^servacons & ^r^favou^rs^ towards the said Towne.

The same daye att Nighte, Reporte came to the Towne that the Kinges ptie., being foure hundred horse, w^th^ muskettiers behind them weire come to Whitchurche. Wherevpon the Townesmen & Soldie^rs^ weire all comanded to stande vpon theire Garde for p^r^servacon of the Towne of Namptwiche.

*Hawkyns shott at Namptwiche.*

On ffridaye the xxiiij^th^ of January 1644[-5], *Lieften^t^ Hawkyns als. Huggyns* was adiudged by the Councell of warr, to Dye for that he was an Irishe man, had taken the Covenante, p^r^ved for the p'liam^t^ and afterwards went to the Kinges ptie: hee was shott at the Chauncell end in Namptwiche.[1]

*2 hanged att Christleton.*

The p'liam^t^ side did hange twoe men att Christleton, beinge native Irishe, for the lyke, w^ch^ weire taken att Christleton Battell.

& for many other great Deliverances & Victories vouchsafed to the Parliament forces.

At Night, Report came to the Town, that the Enemy being 400 Horse, with Musketiers behind them, were come to Whitchurch. Whereupon the Townsmen & Souldiers were comanded all night to stand upon their Guard, for the Defence of the Town.

Upon ffriday Jan: 24, Çoll: Hawkins, *alias* Huggins, was shot at the Chancell End in Nantwich, for having taken the Covenant on the Parliament Side, & after running to the Enemy, being an Irish Man. The same Week 2 Souldiers, Irish Men,

[1] The burial of Lieut. (or, Lieut.-Col.) Hawkins is not recorded in Nantwich Parish Register.

*A Marche agaynst Chester.* On Sondaye Nighte the xxvj$^{th}$ of January [1644-5] 1644[-5], Cheshire forces w$^{th}$ some of Lancashire forces marched towards Chester, w$^{th}$ intente to haue stormed the Citie; But approchinge neere the same vnto theire works, They p$^{r}$ceyved the wales [walls], by lighte of theire Matches, well garded w$^{th}$ Soldie$^{rs}$: (beinge aboute foure or fyve a Clocke in the Mornynge): And on Mondaye, the nexte daye after, for they weire betrayed by one of theire owne Soldie$^{rs}$ whoe had gyven theim notice twoe howers before; And p$^{r}$ceyvinge they weire betrayed weire gladd to retreate w$^{th}$out any furthe$^{r}$ p'ceedinge: yett upon theire retreate they weire in greate Danger, (beinge w$^{th}$in muskett shott of theim) w$^{ch}$ when they in the Citie p$^{r}$ceyved, did shoote very vehementlie att theim; But the Lord p$^{r}$served theim all from any harme.

*Holte taken agayne.* Vpon Tuesdaye Nighte the xxviij$^{th}$ of January 1644[-5], the p'liam$^{t}$ forces, about twoe thowsand, went furthe of Wirrall, over a forde into Wales; (where viij of theire men &

were hanged at Christleton, by the Parliament Garrison lying there, for the same Fault.

Upon Sunday Night, Jan: 26, Cheshire Forces, with some out of Lancashire, did march towards Chester, thinking to have stormed the City: & coming near to their Works they perceaved the Walls well furnished with Souldiers, by Light of their Matches, it being about 5 of the Clock in the Morning. Therefore perceaving they were betrayed, (& it was by one of their own Souldiers, who had given notice to the Enemy about two houres before,) they were fain to retreat, being in Great Danger: but yet came off without any Loss or Hurt.

Upon Tuesday Night, Jan: 28. the Cheshire Army of Horse & Foot, about 2,000, went forth of Werral, over a Ford into Wales,

[1644-5] foure horses weire drowned) But landinge in Wales on Wednesdaye mornynge, the Welsh men fledd: soe that the[y] marched by Harden Castle & came to Holte, w$^{th}$out any int'[err]uption, takinge many horse & p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$: And comynge thether, all the[y] then for the Kinge fledd into the Castle, & then the[y] entred the same towne quyetlie, & opened the Bridge, w$^{ch}$ did lead into Cheshire vnto ffarne; & soe made theimselves free & open passage furthe of Wales, over the greate Ryver Dye [Dee] into Cheshire att theire pleasure.

*Wrythen [Ruthin] Towne taken.* The same weeke they entred Wrixam [Wrexham] where the[y] weire well entertayned; And a litle afterwards hearing that Wrythen [Ruthin] was garrisoned with twoe thowsand of the Kinges ptie., they marched thetherwards; but they theire, hearinge of theire advanceing towards theim, ffledd, some into the Castle, & some to Denbigh, or whither they cold gett. Then they entred the Towne, & beinge possessed thereof did what they pleased: althoughe not

(where 8 men, & 4 Horses were drowned,) & landing in Wales on Wednesday Morning, all the Welshmen fled: so they marched by Harden Castle, & came to Holt, taking many Horse, & some Prisoners. All the Souldiers in Holt fled into the Castle: & so the Parliament Party enjoyed the Town peaceably & quietly, opening the Bridge which led into Cheshire, to Farn, & so made themselves free & open Passage at Pleasure.

The same Week they entered Wrexham, where they were well entertained: a little after hearing that Ruthin was garrison'd with 2,000 of the Enemy, they marched thither; but when the Enemy heard of their Approach towards them, they all fled, some into the Castle, & the Rest to Denbigh, or whither they could get. The Parliament Army being possess'd of the Town, did what they

muche harme to the faythfull of the Townesmen; [1644-5]
And stayinge not longe theire, they marched backe towardes Wrixam [Wrexham]. They had foure men of Macclesfield hundred slayne, & three wounded from Wrythen [Ruthin] Castle, w^th^ a case of Drakes.

*Randevous on Preece Heath.* On Tuesdaye and Wednesdaye beinge the xj^th^ and xij^th^ of ffebruary 1644[-5], the p'liam^t^ forces, havinge Ayde from Yorkshire, Darbieshire, Staffordshire, & some more from Lancashire, beinge enformed that Prince Morrys[1] [Maurice] was come to Shrowesbury, expectinge greate forces, kepte theire Randevous vpon Preece Heath, beinge a very stronge Army consistinge bothe of horse & foote: and the Princes Army beinge about twoe thowsand Did marche to Chirk Castle, & the p'liam^t^ Army marched Into Wales towards the

pleased, tho' not much Harm to the Townsmen. And staying there but a While, they returned towards Wrexham. One Souldier from Maxfeild Hundred was slain, & 3 maimed from Ruthin Castle with a Case of Drakes; but none of the Enemy hurt or taken: for they all fled away but those that took the Castle.

Upon Tuesday & Wednesday, Feb: 11 & 13 [*sic*], there came Aid to the Cheshire Forces out of Yorkshire, Darbyshire, Staffordshire, & some from Lancashire, understanding that Prince Maurice was come to Shrewsbury, expecting great Forces, they made towards him, & kept their Rendevouz upon Prees-Heath; being a very strong Army both of Horse & Foot. The Prince's Army being about 2,000, mov'd towards Chirk Castle: the Parliament Forces followed after, but could not overtake him: &

[1] Prince Maurice had reached Shrewsbury from the south on 5th Feb. After staying there nine days to order his forces, he marched to Chirk and Ruthin.

[1644-5] later ende of the same weeke: But the Prince removinge from place to place, cold not bee mett w^th^all, nor overtaken, w^ch^ the[y] p'ceyvinge and feareing leste hee wold wheele about some waye into Cheshire, removed the leager from Beeston Castle, before Ayde cold come from the Army in Wales vnto theim: And p^r^sentlie after the whole Army marched furthe of Wales into Cheshire backe againe on Mondaye the xvij^th^ of ffebruary 1644[-5].

On Thursdaye the xx^th^ of ffebruary 1644[-5] the Prince came to Chester (as was crediblie reported) where the p'liam^t^ Army faced him that hee durst not come further: But hee retorned to the Holte in Wales; And on ffrydaye made a Bridge of Boats over Dye [Dee] vnder Holte Castle before the Cheshire forces weire awarre [aware]: and about fyve hundred of theim came over into Cheshire: But the Cheshire soldye^rs^ in ffarne did quycklie beate theim backe.

*2 Howses burned in ffarne.*

On Sondaye mornynge the xxiij^rd^ of ffebruary 1644[-5], the Kinges ptie. came over into ffarne agayne, & theire

fearing least hee should wheel about, & so come into Cheshire, & remove the Seige of Beeston Castle, they came back again out of Wales Feb. 17.

Upon Thursday Feb: 20, the Prince came to Chester, where the Parliament Army faced him, & kept him for the present: but retreating to The Holt, hee made a Bridge of Boats over the river Dee, under the Castle, before the Parliamenteers were aware of it: & so about 500 came over into Cheshire, but was quickly beaten back. Yet divers Times after they assayed to come over again, & burned many Houses and Barns in Farn, slew Major Jackson, & some others of the Parliament Side, but were beaten back with the Loss of some of their own Men.

fyred twoe howses w^ch weire burned downe to the ground, & retyred backe agayne, doinge noe more harme; but seu'all tymes afterwards they came over agayne, & burned many howses & barnes in ffarne, & beinge sett on by the Soldye^rs in ffarne, weire beaten backe, yett the[y] slewe *maior Jackson*, & some other of theim in ffarne, w^th some losse on theire side, by the p'liam^t forces. [1644-5]

*Shrowesbury taken.*[1] Upon Saturdaye mornynge the xxij^nd of ffebruary 1644[-5], *Colonell Mytton &° Colonell Boyer* on the p'liam^t side, w^th

Upon Saturday Morning Feb: 22 Coll: Mitton & Coll: Boyier, with about 1500 Men, did by Force take Shrewsbury, & therein

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[1] Shrewsbury was at that time in a wretched state; the King's cause was waning; many in the town had risen against the ruling royalists; the garrison had been drained by Lord Byron; and disorder and drunkenness amongst the soldiers endangered the safety of the town. Sir Michael Ernley had succeeded Ottley as Governor, and, though nearly worn out with hard service himself, was trying to calm the discontented and half-mutinous soldiery. It is said Huson, an Irishman, (Vicars says he was "a minister,") ran away from Shrewsbury to the Parliamentary garrison at Wem, and gave such an account of the state of the county town as prompted them to secure the assistance of Mytton from Oswestry, and of Brereton. On Wednesday, 19 Feb., Brereton dispatched to Wem 400 Cheshire horse, 300 Staffordshire foot, and a company of his own regiment with petards and ammunition; and the day following they were joined by Colonel Mytton from Oswestry with 1,200 men from several garrisons.

This army entered Shrewsbury at a palisado near the Severn at four o'clock in the morning almost without opposition; only two Roundheads were killed; and only a Captain and five common soldiers of the royalist garrison. The garrison of the castle was allowed to march with arms to Ludlow; but the Irish were excepted and reserved for execution. The conquerors plundered the castle of the plate of wealthy families that had been deposited there for safety, and robbed the tradespeople of the town. The taking of Shrewsbury was a great

[1644-5] aboute fyfteene hundred horse & foote, did very secretlie & cu'inglie [cunningly] enter into Shrowesbury, althoughe not att the Gates, nor by any knowledge of theim in the Towne; But beinge possessed thereof, They weire bold to hold ytt, where the[y] tooke *S^r Michell Erneley*, Governo^r, & many hundreds more in the Towne p^rsone^rs: (But the Governo^r beinge sore wounded dyed a litle afterwards.) and alsoe seazed all theire estate, magazen, Ammunycon, & Ordnance. Some of theim in the Towne fledd into the Castle; But vpon feare [fair] termes the same Nighte they deliu'ed ytt upp to the said Colonells. The names of some of the Knightes & men of noate taken p^rsone^rs in the same Towne weire *Sir Nicholas Byron, Sir Richard Lea, S^r Richard Lewson,*[1] *S^r John Weild sen^r., S^r John Weild jun^r., S^r*

Sir Michael Early [*sic*], the Governor with many Hundreds more Prisoners. They seized also upon their Estates, Magazine, Amunition, & Ordinance. Some fled into the Castle: but the same Day at Night it was delivered upon fair Terms. Many great Men were taken at this Time: as Sir Nicholas Byron, Sir Ric: Lea, Sir Ric: Luson, Sir John Wield, Senior & Junior, Sir Tho: Cecil, Sir Hen. ffrederick Thynn, Sir Wm. Owen, Sir Her-

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loss to the royalists of the border counties. The prisoners of note, having been taken into Cheshire and Staffordshire, were sent to London.

Sir William Owen, of Condover Hall, was one of the county gentlemen who often sent secret information of royalist designs to the Parliamentary Army and at one time offered to house Parliamentary soldiers at his stone mansion.

(See Webb's *Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 137-140; Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 113-115; and Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 235-238.)

[1] Sir Richard Leveson; which is here spelled *Lewson* (Malbon) and Luson (Burghall) as pronounced.

*Thomas Cicell, S^r Henry ffredericke Thyn, S^r Willm.* [1644-5]
*Owen, S^r Herbert Vaughan, S^r Thomas Lyster, m^r Ireland, m^r Kynnaston* of Otley, *m^r Barker Jun^r., m^r Pontesbury Owen, m^r Edward Owen, m^r Thomas Owen, m^r Thomas Jones, m^r Pellam Corbett, Doctor Lewyn, Doctor ffowler, Doctor Arnewaye,* & a Doctor of Phissicke, *m^r Willm. Barker, Captaine Yonge, m^r Gibbons, m^r ffoster, Captyn Stanley, m^r Edward Morrys, Captyn Raynford, m^r Lawton, m^r Smythe, m^r Trevys, m^r Robte. Sandford, Captyn Sandford, old m^r Sandford, m^r Davyes, m^r ffrancis Thernes,* & *m^r Robte. Betton,* twoe thowsand Armes, a hundred Barrells of powder, many Cannons, a greate store of money & plate to the value of ffourtie Thowsande pounds, beside greate store of Riches & goods: ffor many greate men & othe^rs of the Countrey thereabouts had gotten all theire money, plate & goods into the said Towne for securitie; beinge then held by the Kinges ptie.

*Howses burned & deserted.*

Upon takinge of Shrowesburye the Kinges ptie. burned & quytt [quit] Lea Hall, and Tonge Castle: The[y]

bert Vaughan, Sir Tho: Lister, M^r. Ireland, M^r. Kinnaston of Oatley, M^r. Barker, Junior, M^r. Pontesbury Owen, M^r. Edw: Owen, M^r. Tho: Owen, M^r. Tho: Jones, M^r. Pelham Corbett &c. Also 2,000 Arms, 100 Barrels of Powder, many Canons, & a very great Store of Money & Plate, to the Value of 40,000 Pounds as was said; beside much other Goods & Treasure. For many great Men had gotten most of their Goods & Plate thither, because they thought the place impregnable.

Upon the taking this strong Garrison, the Enemy burned, & then quitted Lea Hall, and Tong Castle: they also deserted Madeley & Rowton. Moreton-Corbet was deserted & burnt by the Parliament Forces.

[1644-5] deserted Madeley, Rowton, & Atcham Howse on the Ryver side was garrysoned for the Kinge & P'liamt. Morton Corbett deserted alsoe and burned by the p'liam$^{t}$. ptie. Theire weire many more Captyns & gent. of quallitie w$^{ch}$ are not heere named taken in Shrowesbury.

*Persons in Shrowesbury broughte to Namptwiche.*

On Saturday the first of Marche 1644[-5], *Baronett Lea, Sr Richard Lewsen, Sr John Weild* sen$^{r}$ and Jun$^{r}$., *Doctor Lewyn, Doctor ffowler, Doctor Arnewaye, Herbert Vaughan, Edward Kynnaston, ffrancis Sandford,*[1] *ffrancis Thomas, & Thomas Owen*[2] esqrs.; *Edward Owen,* Lieutent$^{t}$ Colonell, *Captyn Stanley, ffrancis Smythe,* gents.; *Thomas Johnes,*[2] Esq.; *Captyn Ranesford, Alderman Gibbons, Captyn Yonge & Sr Thomas Whitmore* weire sente to Namptwiche p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$ from Shrowesbury. And vpon the viij$^{th}$ of Marche 1644[-5], weire sente to Namptwiche after

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[1] *Francis Sandford,* brother to Capt. Thomas Sandford who had been slain on the 18th Jan., 1644 (p. 104), was a prisoner on parole at Nantwich in May, 1645, when Sir William Brereton granted him leave of absence for ten days to visit his native home at Sandford. His "*pass*" has recently been printed in the "*Cheshire Sheaf*," No. 719, from the original document still preserved at Sandford, as follows:—

"These are to desire and require all those whome it may concerne to suffer the bearer hereof, *Mr. ffrauncis Sandford* to pass theire seu'all Scouts and Courts of Guard from this Garrison of Namptwich to Sandford in Shropshire, and back againe w$^{th}$in ten daies after the date hereof.

Given under my hand at Namptwich, 12th of May, 1645.

WILL. BRERETON."

To all officers and souldiers in service for Kinge and Parliamt."

[Countersigned on back] "John Gobbett.
Will. Alexander."

[2] Thomas Owen (Town Clerk); Thomas Jones (afterwards Chief Justice).

theim, p^rsone^rs, *Captyn Lucas, Maior Ranger, Captyn Cressye, Captyn Harrison, m^r Turner, Captyn Betts, Sr John Peshall, Sr Nicolas Byron, Captyn Edward Leighton, Captyn Talbott, Captyn Pontesbury Owen, m^r Spurstowe, Lieften^t Thomas Owen, m^r Robte. Sandford, m^r Trevys, Thomas Betton, maior Littleton,* and *m^r Richard Otley,* All in nu'ber xxxviij. [1644-5]

*Prisoners removed.* On Saturdaye the xv^th of Marche 1644[-5], some of theise p^rsone^rs weire removed from Namptwiche to Manchester; And the nexte day after (beinge Sondaye) some of theim more weire removed to Eccleshall Castle.

*Christleton and ffarne deserted.* On Mondaye the xvij^th of Marche 1644[-5], pte. [part] of Cheshire forces w^ch laye att Christleton, & had in some mann' [manner] fortefyed the same hearing of the greate powers of *Prince Ruperte* & *Morrys* [Maurice], & feareing theim selves not able to w^th stand theire greate forces, deserted & lefte the same goinge whether they were Comanded. And also ffarne was lefte lykewise. The Kinges ptie. then burned Christleton towne downe to the ground.[1]

*Beeston Castle releeved.* The same Mondaye the xvij^th of Marche 1644[-5], The Kinges ptie. releeved Beeston Castle: And the

Munday Mar: 17. Rupert & Maurice came with a great Strength, & relieved Beeston Castle, which was beseiged by the Parliament

[1] This circumstance, which is omitted by Burghall, is mentioned in *Perfect Passages*, No. 24, Ap. 9; reprinted in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., p. 240.

[1644-5] nexte daye after the[y] plu'dered almost all Bunbury p'ishe [parish].[1]

*24 men hanged.*[2] On Wednesdaye the xix^th^ of Marche 1644[-5], The Kinges ptie. drewe theire Armes towards Holte: And the Prince hanged xxiiij Countrey men, some of theim Constables, and other some poore simple men, for that they weire not so forward in p^r^forming of his Comand as he expected: And the same daye they

*Beeston Hall burned.* sett Beeston Hall on fyer, a very brave howse, & burned the same downe to the ground.

*Scotts came into Cheshire in our ayde.*[3] On Thursdaye the xx^th^ of Marche 1644[-5], *Colonell Brereton* w^th^ his forces held his Rande-

Forces. The Day after they plundered the Parish of Bunbury exceedingly.

Upon Wednesday March 19. they drew their Army towards the Holt: & Prince Rupert hanged 24 Countrymen, some Constables, & some other poor Men. The same Day they set Beeston House on Fire.

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[1] After the loss of Shrewsbury, Rupert made a rapid march to aid Prince Maurice in the neighbourhood of Chester. They met on Prees Heath (Salop) and quartered at Whitchurch and Bunbury, about 8,000 strong. The Parliamentarians left behind at Beeston Castle a "*sow*," or military machine, consisting of a tower of wood, mounted on wheels and drawn by oxen. It had rooms, loop-holed and musket-proof, one above the other, high enough to overlook all the defences. (Webb's *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 240.) On 18th March, Maurice went to Chester and made Lord Byron Governor of the City.

[2] Cold-blooded cruelty increased as the bitterness of the strife increased.

[3] The Scots were commanded by Major-General David Leslie.

vous on Knottesford Heathe & on Bowdon Downes :[1644-5]
And thether the Scotts havinge marched, Joyned w^th^
theim, beinge in nu'ber fyve thowsand or thereabouts;
And on Saturday the xxij^nd^ of Marche the[y] advanced
to Sandbache. The nexte weeke after to Whit-
churche, & then back to Sandbache, and soe marched
awaye into Yorkshire.

*The Kinges comynge into Shropshire.* [May 1645.]

A litle afterwards Cheshire [1645]
forces, w^th^ some others of theire
frends, marched backe agayne into
Wales & begirte Chester round,
placinge Garrisons att Puddington, Rowton, Hunt-
ington, Eccleston, Iron Bridge, & Upton; And alsoe
about Beeston Castle; where they had begun to have
Reased a brave mounte, w^th^ a stronge Ditche about
the same: and had placed good byldinges thereon,
w^ch^ weire scarcely fynyshed when as newes came,
That the Kinge & bothe the Princes w^th^ a mightie
Army were marchinge towards theim: And ytt was
reported that on ffrydaye Nighte & Saturdaye the
xvij^th^ of Maye 1645, that they quartred aboute New-
porte: And on Sondaye the xviij^th^ of Maye 1645,

1645. About this Time the Scots came into Cheshire. They were at Sandbach, Whitchurch, & so into Yorkshire.

After this, the Parliamenteers went back again into Wales, & by Degrees begirt Chester round about, placing Garrisons at Rowton, Huntington, Eccleston, Iron Bridge, Upton, &c., & also about Beeston Castle, where they had begun to raise a brave Mound, with a strong Ditch about it, & had placed good Buildings thereon, which were scarcely finished, but Newes came, that the King & both the Princes, with a strong Army, came towards Cheshire, & on Saturday May 17, quartered about Newport.

[1645] All Cheshire forces, & the reste of theire Army retorned bothe from Walles [Wales] & all the othe$^{r}$ holds & garrisons (Tarvyn excepted) to Namptwiche: Leavinge all the places where they had byn to the mercy of the Kinges Army, bothe att Chester & Beeston Castle. Newes still encreasinge of the Kinges advancinge towards Cheshire; Mondaye & Tuesdaye they moved very litle: But on Wednesdaye Nighte the Kinge lay att Drayton, & his Army att Muccleston, Balloporte, Bloore & all the Countrey there abouts: And the same daye an Alaram was gyven on Namptwiche, but w$^{th}$out cause.

*The Kinge advanced to Utsetter* [*Uttoxeter*].

On Thursdaye the xxij$^{nd}$ of Maye 1645, theire was a fast held att Namptwiche: And the same daye att Nighte, The Kinge retreated & Lodged att *m$^{r}$ Sneyds* of Keele (as was reported) and his Army att and about Stone & Newcastle. Some reported hee laye att Tren[t]ham that Nighte; but the truth was his Ma$^{tie}$ laye att *m$^{r}$ Cromptons* howse neere Stone: on Saturdaye nighte the xxiiij$^{th}$ of Maye 1645, hee laye att *S$^{r}$ Thomas Mylwards* neere Utsetter,

Upon Sunday Morning May 18. the Parliament Army marcht towards Nantwich, both out of Wales, & other Garrisons except Tarvin, leaving all the Country to the Spoil of the Forces in Chester and Beeston Castle. The King came on very slowly: on Wednesday Night he lay at Drayton, & his Army quartered in the Country thereabout. Upon Thursday a Fast was kept at Nantwich. At Night the News came that they were retreated. The King lay at M$^{r}$. Crompton's near Stone, & quartered his Army in Stone, Newcastle &c. Upon Saturday he march'd towards Utcester.

[Uttoxeter] and his Army poore [? were] quartred [1645] in and about Utsetter.

*Leicester taken by the Kinge.* On Saturdaye mornynge the last of Maye 1645, the Kinge tooke Leicester w^th^ greate losse of men on both sides: And many Carryages, wagons, & waynemen, beinge come to Towne that Nighte before for saufety lost all the goods the[y] brought & all theire Teames, & some of theire men, to a very greate value & losse: And almost to the vndowinge [undoing] of some of theim.[1]

*Rydley Hall assaulted by the Enymye.* On Wednesdaye the iiij^th^ of June 1645, the Kinges ptie. yssued furthe of Beeston Castle, beinge not aboue twoe myles from the same place whether they entended, w^ch^ was vnto Ridley Hall, where a small garrison, not above xvj men weire for the p'liam^t^ placed over Nighte to garrison the same house: The

Upon Saturday May 31, the King took Leicester, with great Loss of Men on both Sides. Upon Wednesday June 4. the Enemy issued forth of Beeston Castle to Ridley Hall, where were about 16 Souldiers, put in over Night for the Parliament, (for they intended to garrison it;) the Enemy made Assault upon the Gates; but the Souldiers in the House defended it bravely, & killed 5 of them, whereof Vernon was one, who had been for the Parliament, & had taken the Covenant.

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[1] Leicester was held only by a small garrison under Sir Robert Pye. The attack was made at night, and the town yielded about two in the morning. This success was encouraging to the King, who hoped to reach York; he unfortunately turned southwards to meet Fairfax and Cromwell at Naseby, where he suffered irreparable loss on June 14th.

[1645] Kinges ptie., beinge farr more in nu'ber, assaulted the Gates; but the Soldye$^{rs}$ in the howse defended theim selves very bravely, & killed fyve of theim; whereof one *Vernon*, a man of Wibunbury towne w$^{ch}$ had byn on the p'liam$^{t}$ side before, & taken the Covenant, was one of theim: onelie the Soldie$^{rs}$ in the howse had one man shott in the shoulder, but in noe danger of Death.

*Battell att Eaton & Rushton.*

On Monday the ix$^{th}$ of June 1645, The Kinges ptie. yssued furthe of Chester beinge three horse Companyes & sixe foote; whoe tooke *Captyn Glegge* & his troupe of horse in theire quarte$^{rs}$: But they weire all quicklie Rescewed by the forces furthe of Tarvyn garrison:[1] And in pursuite of theim, soe farr as Eaton & Rushton, & about the forrest of Dalameyre [Delamere], the p'liam$^{t}$ side tooke twoe Captyns & officers, & Co$\bar{m}$on Soldye$^{rs}$ about twoe hundred & tenne: & slewe tenne of theim; (onelie w$^{th}$ the losse

Munday June 9. the Enemy marcht forth of Chester, being 6 Companyes of Foot, & 3 of Horse, & took Capt: Glegg, & all his Troop of Horse in their Quarters: but they were all rescued quickly by Tarvin Forces: & in Pursuit of the Enemy in Eaton, Rushton, & about the Forest, they took 2 Captains, & Officers, & comon Souldiers 210 or thereabouts, & slew 12 of them, with the Loss of 3 Men. They took 1 Barrel, & many Bags of Powder, & about 300 Arms.

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[1] Lieutenant-colonell Venables was governor of Tarvin. At this skirmish Sir John Powell, formerly High Sheriff of Cheshire, and one of the Commissioners for the King's Array, was taken prisoner. (Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 157 and 179-180.)

of three w^ch^ were slayne & taken p^r^sone^rs^), besides [1645]
one Barrell & many bags of powder, & some Armes, about three hundred. And on Tuesdaye mornynge followynge, fourscore & seyven of the p^r^sone^rs^ weire removed from Tarvyn to Namptwiche.

*Battell at Stoke Manor*[1] [8 *June*, 1645]

Aboute the same tyme, two thowsand of the Kinges Garrisons of Hereford, Ludloe, &c. entendinge to haue Joyned w^th^ theim in Chester (as some of Chester p^r^sone^rs^ confessed) & to haue plu'dred & vndonne a greate p[ar]te of Cheshire in some dayes space: But the p'liam^t^ forces from Shrowesbury & Shropshire, not aboue sixe hundred, mett w^th^ theim about Stoke Mannor; And fallinge in fighte togeither The[y] slewe the *Governo^r^ of Hereford* & tooke the *Governo^r^*

About the same Time there came 2,000 out of Hereford, Ludlow, & those Parts, intending to have joyned with Chester Forces, & so to have harrased & spoiled Cheshire, (as some of Chester Men that were taken Prisoners confest): but they were prevented; For the Parliament Forces from Shrewsbury & Shropshire, to the Number of 600, met with them about Stoke Manner, & slew the Governor of Hereford, took the Governor of Ludlow, one Colonel,

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[1] Stoke Manor (*i.e.*, Stokesay Castle), the property of Lord Craven, had been garrisoned for the King in 1642; but it had been given up to the Parliament. Sir Michael Woodhouse, Governor of Ludlow, marched against Stokesay with about 2000 men; but was met at Winstanstow and defeated with a loss of 100 killed, and more than 60 officers and 300 soldiers captured, with all the ordnance and baggage. Sir Wm. Croft, of Croft Castle, near Leominster, a royalist, was killed. Malbon is wrong in stating that the Governor of Hereford (Col. Scudamore) was slain; and that Woodhouse, the governor of Ludlow, was made prisoner; although both he and Col. Lunsford escaped with difficulty.—(See Webb's *Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 193-6; and Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 178.)

[1645] *of Ludloe,* one Colonell, a Lieften[t] Colonell, & foure hundred Comande[rs] & Comon Soldye[rs] p[r]sone[rs]; Besides many Armes, and many of theim slayne.

*Irishmen hanged.*

On Wednesday, the xj[th] of June 1645, Many of the p[r]soners sente from Tarvyn, about fourteene or fyfteene in nu'ber, weire tryed att Namptwich by the Councell of warr, whereof three of theim were adiudged to Dye, being Native Irishe; And the same day in the afternoone they were all three hanged. (By the ordinance of p'liam[t].)

*Colonell Brereton going to the p'liamt.*
[See Appendix D.]

On ffryday the xiij[th] of June 1645, *Colonell Brereton* wente from Namptwiche towards London, beinge called vp to the p'liam[t]., & beinge one of the Knights for Cheshire; But stayinge a whyle in Stafford towne, he sente vp *Captyn Stones,* (then Goveno[r] of Stafford) w[th] but a smale Troope of horse; whoe in his Journey mett w[th] some of the Kinges forces & fallinge on theim tooke fyfteen of theim p[r]sone[rs] & sixe hundred poundes in money. (some reporte viij hundred poundes.)

a Lieut: Collonel & 400 Comanders & comon Souldiers: besides many Arms, & many slain.

Friday, June 13. Sir Wm: Brereton went from Nantwich towards London, being called up to the Parliament. But remaining at Stafford, he sent up Capt: Stones with a small Troop of Horse, who, in his Way, met with some of the King's Forces, fell upon them, took 15 of them Prisoners, & 600, some say 800 Pound in Money.

Saturday June 14. the King's Army lying a little from Harborough, Sir Tho: Fairfax, with his Forces, fell upon them, and routed them all. They took Prisoners 4530, & odd, whereof 500

*Harbye Battell*[1] [*Naseby, 14 June 1645.*]

Upon Saturdaye the xiiij$^{th}$ of June 1645, The Kinge & his Army quarteringe but a litle from Harboroughe, *S$^{r}$ Thomas ffearefax* [Fairfax] & the p'liam$^{t}$ forces fell vpon theim, & Rowted, slewe, tooke and scattred theim all; Takinge foure Thowsand fyve hundred thirtie & odd of theim p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$ in the field; (fyve hundred of theim beinge Colonells, Lieften$^{ts}$ Colonells, maio$^{rs}$, Captyns, & officers), All the Kinges Carryages and ordnance; And in p$^{r}$suett tooke & slewe manye of theim: The Kinge fledd to Lichfield first (as was reported), And afterwards to Worcester Citie (beinge neu' [never] soe yll Rowted before); The Carryages then taken weire twoe hundred; one of theim w$^{th}$ the Kinges plate in ytt, worth (as was reported) seyventeene thowsand poundes: xij peeces of ordnance, a hundred Ensignes w$^{th}$ the Kinges Standard: And in pursuite of theim twoe thowsande horse, beside many Cloke bagges [1645]

were Officers: all the Kinges Carriages, and all his Ordinance. They pursued them, & in the Pursuit slew many, & took many Prisoners. The King fled first to Lichfield, as was reported, & afterwards to Worcester. The Carriages then taken were 200, whereof one of them had the King's Plate, worth in Value, as was reported, 17000 Pounds, 12 Peices of Ordinance, 100 Ensigns, & the King's Standard: and in the Pursuit 2000; besides many Cloak Bags found in Lanes, with their Strings cutt, much Money

[1] Vicars has a long account of this battle in *Burning Bush*, pp. 160-166. Malbon's numbers of the prisoners and slain are not over-estimated. Naseby battle, as is well known, was the crisis of the War; but, it is not generally known, that it was "a victory in which 14,000 defeated 7,500, and that too, not without difficulty." (See Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, vol. ii., pp. 217, and 583-598.)

[1645] found in Lanes w^th^ theire stringes cutt and throwne awaye; w^th^ much money, good clothes & other thinges of value in theim. Slayne on the Kinges side about a thowsand; And on the p'liam^t^ side about three hundred.

*Leicester regayned.*[1] On Wednesday the xviij^th^ of June 1645, Leicester was by the *Lorde of Loughborowe*, governo^r^ theire placed by the Kinge, vpon Composicon deliu'ed vp to the p'liam^t^ forces. The office^rs^ & Comon Soldye^rs^ in the Towne beinge about fyfteene hundred; viz. That all office^rs^ aboue degree of a Lieften^t^ sholde depte. [depart] w^th^ theire horse & Armes. And all the rest either w^th^out horse or Armes.

*Three executed [at Namptwiche].* On Saturday the xxj^st^ of June 1645, Three Native Irishe weire executed att Namptwiche.

*Shardon Castle deliu'ed vpp.*[2] On Sondaye the xxix^th^ of June 1645, Shardon Castle beinge garrisoned by the Kinges ptie., & beseiged by the

in them, & many fine Cloaths. The Report was, that 1000 were slain on the King's Side, 300 on the Parliaments.

Upon Wednesday June 18, Leicester was yeilded up again to the Parliament Forces, the Lord of Loughborough being left there Governor by the King, & about 1500 Officers and comon Souldiers. The Agreement upon the Surrender was, that each Officer, above the Degree of a Lieutenant, should depart with their Horse & Arms; the Rest without either of them.

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[1] Leicester re-taken by Parliament. (See Vicars' *Burning Bush*, 172-3.)

[2] Shardon, or Shrawardine Castle, in Shropshire, was taken by Col. Mackworth. (See *Shropshire Garrisons*, p. 72; and Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 168.)

p'liam$^{t}$ forces, was vppon composicon deliu' [delivered] vpp to theim; They in the Castle marchinge awaye w$^{th}$ theire horse and Armes; But leavinge all theire Magazen, p$^{r}$vision, & goods behind theim; w$^{ch}$ ys scythens [since] altogeither defaced. [1645]

*Cawse Castle deliu' vpp.*[1]

The very weeke before, [June 23$^{rd}$] Cawse [Caurs] Castle, being also garrisoned by the Kinges ptie., was alsoe in the lyke mann$^{r}$ deliu'[ered] vpp to the p'liam$^{t}$ forces.

*Stoke Castle deliu' vpp.*[2]

And aboute that tyme Stoke Castle, neere Ludloe, beinge helde by the Kinges ptie., was in lyke mann'[er] deliu'[ered] vpp.

*Shocklage howse.*

The xvj$^{th}$ of Julye 1645, Shocklage[Shocklach] howse, beinge made a Garrison by the Kinges ptie., was taken by the Cheshire forces for the p'liam$^{t}$, & and by composicon deliu'd vpp; wherein was the *Lord Byron* & *m$^{r}$ Egerton*, lord of the howse, & xxiij Soldye$^{rs}$ w$^{th}$ theire Armes, wheireof twoe of theim weire Captyns: And the same daye was broughte to Namptwiche p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$ w$^{th}$ theire horses & Armes of the Kinges ptie. from Beeston Castle; And the nexte daye after, some of

About this Time many petty Garrisons were taken by the Parliamenteers, viz.: Shardon Castle, Caws Castle, Stoke Castle, Shocklidge [Shocklach] House.

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[1] Cawse, or Caurs Castle, in Shropshire, was also taken by Col. Mackworth, after a seven days' siege. Sir Henry Fred. Thynne, of Caurs Castle, was fined £7,900; he was imprisoned in the Fleet before the end of 1645; and had not raised money sufficient as late as June, 1652.

[2] Malbon has already given an account of Stokesay fight, cf. p. 173. The Castle was surrendered on June 30, 1645.

[1645] the othe^r p^rsone^rs weire broughte to Namptwiche from Shocklage.

*Langport Battell.*[1]

The x^th of Julye newes came to Namptwiche That theire was a greate Battell foughte in Som'setshire by *S^r Thomas ffearefax* & *Colonell Massie*[2] & theire forces agaynst the *Lord Hopton*[3] & *Colonell Goringe*[4] & theire forces; where the p'liam^t forces p^rvayled & Rowted theim: And tooke xv hundred Horse, twoe thowsand & foure hundred Co̅mon Soldye^rs; & slewe aboute fyve hundred: twoe peeces of ordnance & foure Carryages w^th Ammuny̅con: Hopton and Goringe fledd into Bridgewater wheire they weire beseiged a litle afterwards by the p'liam^t forces.

July 20 [*sic* for 10] was fought the great Battle of Lamport [Langport] in Somersetshire, between Sir Tho: Fairfax, & Coll: Massy's Forces, & the Lord Hopton & Coll: Goring: where the former prevailed, & took 1500 Horse, 2400 Foot, 2 Peices of Ordinance, 4 Carriages of Amunition & slew about 500.

The same Month Bridgewater was taken, (whither Hopton & Goring were fled,) with the Governor, Coll: Windall, 5 Knights, 6 Collonels, 14 Lieut:-Collonels & Majors, 40 Gentleman and other

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[1] See Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 191.

[2] *Col. Edward Massie*, a brave and indefatigable general in the S.W. of England, Governor of Gloucester during the early part of the war. But after his victory at Evesham, 26 May, 1645, he became Major-General under Fairfax in the West. Like many other prominent men, he subsequently changed his opinions, and supported Charles II.

[3] *Lord Hopton*, who had on his standard "I will strive to serve my soveraigne Kinge," after being unsuccessful in the south-west, left England for the Continent.

[4] *Col. Goring* had joined the Parliamentary Army in 1642; he afterwards became a royalist; but he is generally spoken of as having been traitorous to the King.

*Bridgewater taken.*[1] The same moneth of July 1645, The p'liam$^{t}$ forces havinge beseiged the sayde Bridgewater, whereoff *Colonell Wyndall,* [Windham] was Governo$^{r}$, Tooke ytt, & the said Governo$^{r}$ & fyve knights, vj Colonells, xiiij Lieften$^{t}$ Colonells & maior$^{s}$, a hundred Captyns & othe$^{r}$ Office$^{rs}$, fourtie gents., & othe$^{rs}$ of quallitie, twoe thowsand p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$, eighte hundred horse, thirtie sixe peeces of ordnance, fyve thowsand Armes, tenne loads of Ammunyc̄on; All Gorings carryage, bagge & baggage; & the Castle & markett place, & all w$^{ch}$ was in that garrison: But *Hopton* & *Goringe* weire fledd agayne. [1645]

*Pomfrett taken.*[2] The xxij$^{nd}$ of July 1645, Pomfret Castle was taken by the p'liam$^{t}$ forces, and three thowsand Armes: tenne peeces of Ordnance, Twoe hundred Barrells of Powder, & many othe$^{r}$ goods, (as was reported) w$^{ch}$ was held by the Kinges ptie. [party].

*Scarborowe.*[3] And the same moneth Scarborowe was taken alsoe by the p'liam$^{t}$ forces from the Kinges ptie. [party].

Men of Note, 2000 Prisoners, 800 Horse, 36 Peices of Ordinance, 5,000 Arms, 10 Load of Amunition, all Goring's Carriages, Bag & Baggage: the Castle, Market Place, & all that was in that Garrison. Hopton & Goring fled.

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[1] See also Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 197-201. The Knights taken prisoners were—Sir Hugh Windham, Sir John Digby, Sir Francis Courtney, and Sir Thos. Elliot.

[2] See also Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 201-2.

[3] *Ibid.* Col. Boynton (Parliamentary general, who succeeded Sir John Meldrum) took Scarborough from Sir Hugh Cholmondeley.

[1645] *Beeston Castle.* In the later ende of Julye, & beygynnynge of August 1645, a newe Mounte was buylte neere Beeston Castle, before the Gates of the Castle, w^th^in Muskett Shott, by Cheshire gents., and a hundred soldye^rs^ putt therein, and a Barne taken downe att Beeston Hall & sett vp in the same; w^ch^ they in the Castle suffred to bee buylte w^th^out litle or noe int'[err]uption: And vpon Sondaye the tennth of August 1645, upon a reporte that the Kinge w^th^ fyve Thowsand horse was come to [1]Heighe Arcall, (w^ch^ p^r^ved vntrewe,) The same Mounte beinge well victualed from Namptwiche, w^th^ a monthes p^r^vision, the trayned bandes of Namptwiche, Northwyche & Buckley [Bucklow] Hundreds weire all drawn to Namptwiche from Beeston to haue secured the Towne, yf need had byn [been]: But on Tuesdaye the xij^th^ of August, the same three trayned Bannds did marche backe agayne to Beeston.

*Lyncell deliu'ed vpp.*[2] On the xxij^nd^ of August 1645, Lyncell Howse, beinge kept by the Kinges ptie., was after a greate breache made in the same, & the Governo^r^ slayne, deliu'ed vp vnto the p'liam^t^ forces.

July 22, Pomfret Castle was taken, together with 3000 Arms, 10 Peices of Ordinance, & 200 Barrels of Powder. Scarborough was taken about the same Time. Lincell [Lilleshall] House, & Daaly [Dawley] Castle was delivered up to the Parliament, the first Aug: 22, the latter Aug: 23.

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[1] High Ercall, in Salop (see *Shropshire Garrisons*, pp. 44-48).
[2] Lilleshall, or Lindsill see *Shropshire Garrisons*, p. 56).

[1645] On Saturdaye the xxiij^rd^ of August 1645, Dawley Castle in Shropshire, held alsoe by the Kinges ptie., was yelded vp vnto the p'liam^t^ forces.

*Dawley Castle.*[1]

Newes came to Namptwiche, That on Thursdaye the xj^th^ of September 1645, Bristowe [Bristol] Citie, the Castle, and all the stronge holds theire, (held by Prince Rupert) was deliu'ed vp to *S^r^ Thomas ffearefax*, Generall for the p'liam^t^; And all the Armes, ordnance, Ammunȳcon & p^r^vision therein.

*Bristowe [Bristol] deliu'ed vpp.*[2]

Upon ffrydaye Nighte the xix^th^ of September 1645, Cheshire forces marched p^r^vately to Chester, & before daye on Saturdaye mornynge, They had entred theire out-workes

*Chester subberbs taken.*[3]

Upon Thursday Sept: 11. Bristoll City, the Castle, & all its strong Holds, were delivered up by Prince Rupert to the Lord Fairfax, with all the Arms, Ordinance & Amunition thereof.

Friday Sept: 19, the Parliament Forces marcht privately to Chester, & the next Morning before Day they entered the Outworks, took Foregate Street, & all the Suburbs on that Side the City.

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[1] Dawley Castle (see *Shropshire Garrisons*, p. 43).

[2] See Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 265-8. Bristol was stormed on 10th September; and on the following day Prince Rupert surrendered on articles honourable to the garrison, and marched out towards Oxford.

[3] The King at this time was wandering among the mountains of mid-Wales with a few followers. On the 18th September he was at Presteign; thence to Newtown, and Llanfyllin; and on the 22nd he was at Chirk Castle, where the news reached him of the fall of the outworks at Chester. He sent word to Lord Byron to hold out for 24 hours; and on the 23rd he entered the city, and was entertained by Sir Francis Gamul, at his house in Lower Bridge Street.

[1645] & taken forgate streete [Foregate St.] & all the Suburbs on that side of the Citie: And vpon Sonday the xxj$^{st}$ of September 1645, The[y] fetched some greate ordnance from Tarvyn, broughte theim into Chester subburbs, & planted theim agaynst the wall of the Citie; And on Mondaye both sides playde all daye w$^{th}$ theire ordnance, the one agaynst the othe$^{r}$: And the p'liam$^{t}$ forces in th' afternoone had made a Breache in the Citie wall, on the left hand Newgate, that foure mighte have entred [a]Brest: About viij a Clocke at Nighte, *Captyn ffynche* & *Captyn Gimbolde* w$^{th}$ theire fyerlocks weire Com̄anded to enter, w$^{ch}$ they p$^{r}$formed very gallantlie & bouldly; But beinge in the Nighte, & the Trayned bannds not speedylie followinge theim, (whoe weire also appoynted for that servys), The said twoe Captyns, w$^{th}$ theire fyerlocks, weire bothe of theim wounded, but not mortally; & many of Captyn ffynches Soldye$^{rs}$ alsoe: ytt ys supposed that yf fyve hundred of theim had then entred, they had byn all cutt of[f]; They weire soe readie & well p$^{r}$vyded in the Citie.

*The greate Battell at Rowton & Howe Heathes.*[1]

On Wednesdaye the xxiiij$^{th}$ of September 1645, The Kinges fforces, and *maior Gen'all Poynes* [Poyntz] w$^{th}$ othe$^{r}$ brave Com̄anders, Office$^{rs}$ & Soldye$^{rs}$ on the p'liam$^{t}$ side, mett & Joyned Battell, w$^{ch}$ was foughte on Wauerton,

[1] The battle of Rowton Heath was a cavalry engagement; but was finally won by the musketeers behind the hedgerows.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale at first drove back Poyntz; but being attacked in the rear, he was defeated by Colonel Michael Jones. Parliament ordered £500 to be paid to Poyntz for his gallantry.

Rowton, and Howe [Hoole] Heathes, neere Chester, [1645]
beinge (as was thoughte) equall in Nu'ber on bothe sides. Att the first maior Gen'all Poynes [Poyntz] had the worste; loste some men, & had about fyftie or three score of his taken p^r^sone^rs^: But *Lieften^t^ Colonell Johnes* & othe^r^ Co̅manders not farr distant, w^th^ a thowsand horse & sixe hundred musketteers yssued furthe of the Subberbs att Chester, fresh in Ayde of the said gen'all Poynes, & Joynynge w^th^ him, w^th^in a litle space did not onelie [only] recouer all theim before taken p^r^sone^rs^, But vtterlie Rowted, wounded, kild, & scattred all the Kinges forces: The KINGE in p'son [person] beinge then sometymes in the Citie and sometymes in the Battell; for hee mighte w^th^out hinderance goe from the Citie throwe the Northgate to Howe [Hoole] Heathe, wheire his owne Regim^t^ was in fighte. P^r^sone^rs^ taken by the p'liam^t^ forces, viz: *S^r^ Phillip Musgrave*, maior gen'all; *S^r^ Thomas*

Upon Wednesday, Sept: 24. was a great Battle fought between the King's Forces, & Major-General Poynes & other Comanders for the Parliament, upon Rowton & How Heath. The Forces, as was thought, were equall in Number. At the first Encounter the Parliament Forces had the worst, lost some Men, & about 50 or 60 were taken Prisoners. But Lieut:-Coll: Jones, with others, to the Number of 1000 Horse, & 600 Musketiers, issuing out of the Suburbs of Chester, & coming fresh upon them, with the Help of Poynes, his Men, not only rescued the Prisoners but in a short Time utterly routed, & defeated the whole Body of the Enemy.

The Report was, that the king himself was present, sometimes in the City, & sometimes on How Heath: which might be possible: for a Passage was open from the North Gate Street to How Heath, without any great Danger. The Loss was great on the

[1645] *Dake*$^{rs}$, *S*$^{r}$ *Thomas Dawbishcounte* [Daybridgecourt] *S*$^{r}$ *Michell Constable, S*$^{r}$ *Thomas Goare, S*$^{r}$ *Henry Stradlinge, S*$^{r}$ *John Phillip Hinler* [Heitter] *Colonell Weston,* sonne to the late Lord Treasurer; *Col. Gifford; Colonell Cromwell, Colonell ffletcher;* Lieften$^{t}$ Colonells *ffrancis Mallam,* Robte. Millington, Hatton, Rutherford, Salkeld,* & *Kinbye.** Maiors [Majors] *Willms.* [Williams] *Morrys, Mark Duggell,* Marcke Doole*,* & *John Lerman.** Captyns; *Captyn Martyn,* adi[u]tante gen'all, *Captyn Swynhed,* Henshawe, White, Gibbons, Stravelinge,* Shelrey*, John Conye*$^{rs}$, *Dixon, Prase,* Willey, Moreton, Symson, Bott,* Johnson, Boulton, vaughan,* & *Gerratt* [? Gerrard] *Lowther;* Lieftent$^{s}$, *Cottrell, morgan, Storey, Bertram, Asleby, Golborne, Constable, mansfield, Skipwith, Jeffreson, Power, Brooke, Whitney, Eliott, Cooke;* Cornetts, *Elsinge, Julyan, Rainsford, Morley, Pierson, ffitzwilliams* & *Smythe.* Quarterm$^{rs}$, *Thomas Shelden,* the Kinges quarterm$^{r}$, *Collizer, Lowe, Brere.*[1]

Trumpetts, fyve: Corporalls, twoe: Of the Kinges Liefe [Life] Garde xvij: Gent[lemen] xx$^{tie}$: Co$\bar{m}$on Soldye$^{rs}$ betwixte viij hundred & a thowsand, togeither w$^{th}$ *Capt. St. Michell,* Captyn of the Queenes troupe, w$^{th}$ a scarfe w$^{ch}$ the Queene gave him from about hir

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[1] This list of prisoners is given in a well-known Civil War Tract entitled "*The Kings Forees Totally Rowted on Rowton Heath,*" &c. Printed Sept. 29, 1645. The names marked with an asterisk are spelled in this Tract as follows:—Matham; Ruly; Magduggel; Magdoole; Lacymouth; Swinlue; Starling; Sheley; Presse; Bell.

Other prisoners, not mentioned by Malbon, were Mr. Sherburne, of Stannyhurst; Mr. William Leighton; Mr. Lewis Darcy; Mr. Henry Boucher; Mr. James Montague; and Mr. Gilbert Markham.

Necke to weire [wear] for his collors. The *Earle of Lichfield* [*Bernard Stuart*[1]] slayne, togeither wth aboue three hundred Comanders, officers, & Comon Soldyers. Horse taken about xv hundred. Theire weire in all taken and slayne about twoe thowsand of the Kinges ptie.; not wthout some losse on the p'liamt ptie. wch weire not many: Betwixte Nyne hundred & a thowsand p'sonrs weire sente to Namptwiche, where they contynued from ffrydaye vntill Thursdaye nexte after. And some of theim (about twoe hundred) weire removed to Midlewiche & Northwiche, & the reste remayned at Namptwiche; wch weire sente from thence to the Garrison in the Subberbs of Chester; & soe was alsoe a greate Brasse peece of ordnance, & three greate peeces of ordnance (lately broughte to Namptwiche) sente thether alsoe. [1645]

*A p'lie. [parley] wth Chester.*

Wednesday the viijth of October 1645, Theire was a p'lye [parley] held wth the Citie, whoe weire to retorne

King's Side. There were slain 300 whereof the Earle of Lichfield was one: Horse taken 1500 or more. It was conjectured, that the Horse & Foot there were 2000 taken, & slain; among them was one Sr Michael taken, Captain of the Queen's Troop, with a Scarf, which the Queen gave him from about her Neck, to wear for her Colours.

A Parley was held between the City of Chester, & the Beseigers Wednesday Oct: 8. An Answer was to be returned from the City by 10 a Clock next Morning: but it came to nothing: whereupon the Seige continued more strait.

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[1] The death of the Earl of Lichfield was much lamented by the King. He was buried in Christ Church, Oxford, March 11, 1645-6.

[1645] theire answere on Thursdaye nexte after, by tenne a Clocke in th' afforenoone; w^ch^ they did; but beinge dislyked, the p'lie. [parley] brake of[f]: And the same daye the ordnance plaid [played] agaynst the Citie, & made a greate breache in the Citie wall: And aboute Sunn settinge some of the forces in the Subburbs entred, but weire beaten backe by reason of a greate Trenche they in the Citie had made on theire side p^r^sentlie agaynst the Breatche, whylest they weire in p'lie. [parley]. Some small losse theire was of men on bothe sides, but not muche: Lieften^t^ Colonell Venables was shott in the Arme, althoughe not much worse.

*Walke mylles burned.*[1]

On Thursdaye the xxv^th^ of October, the forces in the Subberbs had fynished a Bridge w^ch^ they had made over the Ryver Dye [Dee] w^th^ Boates, Carte bodies, & the lyke: And the same Nighte they burned all the Citie walke mylles.

*Some of theire mylles & Cundicte [Conduit] harmed.*

On ffrydaye the xxvj^th^ of October 1645, The p'liam^t^ forces drewe downe twoe peeces of ordnance, & planted theim on the Bowlinge Banke, vnder St. Johns Churche, entendinge to haue beaten downe their water Corne Mylles. The[y] brake two of theim, & battred theire water Cundicte [Conduit] by the Mylles, w^ch^ fell downe a greate pte. theirof a litle after, so that the same was of noe vse.

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[1] Walk Mills, *i.e.*, fulling mills.

*Battell att Denbighe.*

The P'liam$^{t}$ ptie., beinge enformed that [1645] the Kinges ptie. drewe into a Bodie to a greate Nu'ber entendinge to rease the Seige att Chester & Beeston Castle, beinge aboute Denbighe in Wales, did, w$^{th}$ a considerable Army of horse & foote to the nu'ber of three thowsand or thereabout, march to Wrythen [Ruthin] in Wales, *Colonell Johnes* & *Agitante* [Adjutant] *Lowthian* being Comande$^{rs}$ in cheefe, on ffrydaye Nighte, the laste of October 1645:[1] And on Saturdaye, being alhallowe daye, The[y] marched to Denbighe, wheire the Kinges ptie. was on Denbighe Greene; wheire they had to theire greate advantage lyned the hedges w$^{th}$ musketteers & made good the Lane; yett neu'thelesse, the P'liam$^{t}$ Army fell on theim; & after a shorte fighte, did scatter & Route theim altogeither: And tooke aboue sixe hundred of their horse, slewe about a hundred, and tooke foure hundred p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$; And one thinge was marvelous, That ytt pleased God the p'liam$^{t}$ side did lose but onelie one man, w$^{ch}$ was wounded in the fighte, w$^{ch}$ lyved about twoe howe$^{rs}$

Nov. 1. The Parliament Forces, under the Comand of Coll: Jones & Adjutant Lauthorn [Lothian], gave a great Defeat to the Royalists at, or near Denbigh. They took about 600 Horse, 400 men, slew 100, with the Loss of a Man.

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[1] Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 304-5. At the beginning of November, 1645, Brereton complains that the Welsh "remaine soe disaffected, as that they rather preferr to bury & destroy, or to carry away their Victualls, than that our men should partake thereof, or our Leaguer receive any benefit thereby." See also Webb's *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 430; and Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 282-3.

[1645] after : And the same Nighte w^th^ some smale resistaunce did enter the Towne of Denbighe. But the Kinges ptie. fyred the Towne (w^ch^ did consume most pte. of the hearte of the Towne) after they had stayed theire all Nighte; [they] marched to Chester after, in twoe dayes, in saufetie. On Saturdaye about three score & seyventeen of the p^r^sone^rs^ weire sente to Namptwiche; and twentie of theim the nexte weeke after tooke vp Armes for the p'liam^t^.

*Sir Thomas Aston taken.*

The same weeke, *S^r^ Thomas Aston* & about threescore men, Cavaliers w^th^ him, weire taken p^r^sone^rs^ by *Captyn Stones* att or neere Bancke[?],[1] broughte to Stafford, where hee contynued vntill he dyed of an vntymelie death, as yt was reported & very trewe.

You heard before howe Beeston Castle was unwyslye deliu'ed vp to Captyn Sandford for the Kinges vse by Captyn Steele then Governo^r^ thereof for the p'liam^t^, vpon or about the xiij^th^ of December 1643; w^ch^ was held by the Kinges ptie. vntill Sonday the xv^th^ of November 1645; And then *Captyn Vallatt*, Governo^r^ thereof, after almost a twelve monthes seige, w^th^

*Beeston Castle deliu'ed.*

About this Time Sir Tho: Aston, & about 60 more were made Prisoners by Capt: Stones, & brought to Stafford, where hee dyed.

Nov: 16 Beeston Castle, (which had been beseiged almost a

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[1] The place here called *Bancke* was probably *Barre*, near Walsall. Sir Thomas Aston died at Stafford on 24 March, 1645-6.

aboute fyftye sixe in his Company, beinge broughte [1645]
into greate wante of victuals; havinge not any food
in the Castle (but onelie water), not for to haue
maynteyned theim twoe dayes, & seeinge the same
blockt vp, and Chester alsoe beinge w^th^out hope to
bee releeved; upon a plye. [parley] w^th^ *Colonell*
*Brereton*, an agreem^t^ betwixte theim was concluded,
That they w^th^ all theire Armes, Colo^rs^ flyinge,
Drumes beatinge, & twoe Carte loades of goods,
shold instantlie depte.[depart] awaye, & deliu'[er] vp
the Castle to the said Colonell Brereton; w^ch^ was the
same daye p'formed. And when a Considerable
force was putt into the Castle by the said Colonell,
The said *vallatt* w^th^ his Soldie^rs^ havinge a Convaye
w^th^ theim, was broughte vnto Denbighe, whither hee
had a desyre to goe: but twentie of *vallants* [*sic*]
Soldiers, when they weire come furthe of the Castle,
Laide downe theire Armes, & eu'y [every] of theim
desyred that they might have lycence to goe to theire
homes, w^ch^ was graunted. Theire was neithe^r^ meate,
Ale, nor Beere, found in the Castle, save onelie a peece
of a Turkey pye, Twoe Bisketts, a lyve Peacock & a
peahen.

Year) was delivered up by Captain Vallet, Governour thereof, to Sir W^m^. Brereton. There were in it 56 Souldiers, who, by Agreement, had Liberty to depart with their Arms, Colours flying, and Drums beating, together with two Cart Loads of Goods, & to be conveyed with a Convoy to Denbigh. But 20 of the Souldiers laid down their Arms, & craved Liberty to go to their own Homes, which was granted. There was neither Meat nor Drink found in the Castle; but only a Peice of a Turkey-Pye, 2 Biskets, a live Peacock & a Pea Hen.

[1645] *A plott to haue destroyed theire Bridge ou[er] Dee.*

On Mondaye the xxiiij[th] of November 1645, Cheshire forces & othe[rs] in the Subberbs att Chester, havinge made a Bridge of Boates & the lyke over Dye [Dee] att the Lane ende beneath *m[r] Walleyes* howse, that they mighte att theire pleasure goe to the other side of the Water, w[ch] they in the Citie p[r]ceavinge to bee very preiudiciall vnto theim, Devysed twoe Boates, loading theim w[th] muskett Barrells charged w[th] powder & Bulletts, & eu'y [every] Barrell lighte Matches beside othe[r] dangerous combustable stuffs (apte to take fyer), thinkinge to destroye theire Bridge, and sendinge the same vp the Ryver w[th] the Tyde, when the water att the Cawsey laye even, about tenne a Clocke in the Nighte; w[ch] was by the watche on the p'liam[t] ptie. discovered, cominge from the Citie towards [them] not knowinge what they weire; Butt, yt pleased God, that the one of theim did not Reache the Bridge, & the othe[rs] cōminge neere the Bridge, was w[th] Pykes kept of[f]; But both of theim fyringe did not any harme either

The Parliament Forces having made a Bridge, over Dee, of Boats, Wain Bodies,* & such like Stuff, which they in Chester saw to be prejudiciall to them, they essayed to have blown it up by 2 Boats filled with Barrells of Gunpowder, & other combustible Matter, with Muskets, Bullets & the Like, sent up the River with the Tide. Both the Boats fired: but no Hurt was done, either to the Bridge, nor any Souldier: whereas it was resolved, that about the same Hour that the Bridge should have been blown

* "*Wain bodies*," *i.e.*, Cart bottoms. See also a similar expression on page 186.

to the Bridge or Soldyers. Att the very instant of [1645]
sendinge those twoe boates furthe, They in the Citie, to the nu'ber of fyve thowsand horse & twoe hundred foote, yssued furthe of Chester over Dee Bridge, intendinge to haue destroyed & overthrowne all the p'liamt forces on the other side the Reever; wch they might haue donne, yf the Bridge had byn broken downe & their plott taken place, by reason that noe releefe colde have suddenly come vnto theim: But they on the other side to renewe [?] theim of the Citie & the Ayde, wch came vnto theim of the p'liamt side ou'[over] the water, did dryve theim backe agayne into the Citie; But wth what losse was not knowne by the p'liamt ptie.: neither had they any man slayne nor wounded (wch was God's greate mercye vnto theim). The[y] found an Irishe man slayne wth a masse Booke & twoe Granadoes vpon him in theire quarters, & muche Blood on the grounde where they had byn wch came furthe of the Citie.

*Lathom Howse yelded vp.*[1] The Kinges ptie. for a long space havinge kepte a Garrison in Lathom Hall, in Lancashire, a very statelie howse of the *Earle of Derbies;* (to the greate Damage

up, 5000 Horse, and 200 Foot should issue out of the City, & set upon the Beseigers on the River. That also was prevented: for tho' they came forth, they were beaten in again presently.

Upon Wednesday Dec: 3. Latham House in Lancashire, for Want of Provision, was delivered up to the Parliament Forces

[1] Lathom House (Lancashire), which had long been bravely defended by the heroine, the Countess of Derby, was delivered up to Col. Booth. (See *Civil War Tracts*, Cheth. Soc. Publ. pp. 211-3.)

[1645] of all that Countrey & in the ende to the vtter Rvyne of the same howse) The P'liam^t forces havinge beseiged the same about twoe yeeres; what throughe famyne, wante of victualls and other necessaryes, & doubtefull to bee releeved; The same was deliu'ed to the p'liam^t ptie. on Wednesdaye the thirde of December 1645: The Governo^r to depte. w^th his horses, Armes, two or three more w^th theire swords. Three more of the beste to bee kepte p^rsone^rs, & all the reste of the Soldye^rs to depte. w^thout Armes: And the howse to bee somethinge demollished.

*Hereford Citie taken.*[1] On Thursdaye the xviij^th of December 1645, Hereford Citie, havinge a garrison kepte in ytt by the Kinges ptie., was

who had beseiged it 2 Years. The Governor was to depart with his Horse & Arms, about 2 or 3 more with their Swords, 3 other of the Best to be kept Prisoners, & all the Rest of the Souldiers to depart without Arms.

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[1] The stratagem here referred to was conceived and carried out by either Col. Birch, Governor of Bath, or Col. Thos. Morgan, who served under Col. Massey, Governor of Gloucester. Feigning a retreat, the same night he returned to the City walls, while six men disguised as labourers, brought by a supposed parish constable under a warrant of the Governor, Barnabas Scudamore, approached the Bye-street Gate, and were admitted. At that moment a party of firelocks rushed in, and overpowered the guard. Scudamore and fifty others escaped across the frozen Wye; but he was arrested at Worcester and imprisoned. The Parliamentarians said Hereford was taken by surprise; but Scudamore said it was betrayed by two Lieutenants, Ballard and Cooper. The Bishop (Brundenell), Judge Jenkins, and Sir Thos. Lunsford were amongst the prisoners sent to London.—Webb's *Memorials*, and Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 330-335. A list of prisoners is given by Phillips (*Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 286-7).

very Craftely taken by *Colonell Morgan*, Governo$^{r}$ of Gloster. [1645]

*A marche towards Shyfnall.*

On Saturdaye the xx$^{th}$ of December 1645, The forces of Cheshire, Lancashire, & other places, to the nu'ber of fyve thowsand, leavinge att and about Chester three thowsand, havinge certyn intelligence that the Kinges ptie. had gathered a heade, & weire att Shyffnall, fyve myles from Newporte, entendinge to Rease the Seige att Chester, Advanced to Whitchurche to haue mett theim in theire marche to Chester: But they, hearinge thereof, disbanded theim selves to the small Garrisons from whence they had come; All but Hereford men, whoe went to Ludloe garrison, where they contynued vntill ffrydaye nexte after, & then by reason of the thaweing & meltinge of the Snowe (being then very greate), They retorned moste of theim to the Garrison att Chester.

*Sr. Randull Crewes death & Buriall.*[1]

*Sr Randull Crewe*, Knighte, A greate Councellor, w$^{ch}$ had byn Lord Cheefe Justice of the Kinges Benche, a Religious good man, and ferme for the p'liam$^{t}$, and a man of fayre possessions bothe in Cheshire &

Thursday Dec: 18, Hereford City was subtilly taken by Coll: Morgan, Governor of Glocester.

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[1] Sir Randle [or Ranulph] Crewe, second son of John Crewe, gent., of Nantwich. Bapt. Jan. 10, 1558; Serjeant-at-law 1614; Attorney General 1623; Lord Chief Justice 1625; displaced 1626; rebuilt Crewe Hall 1615-1636.

[1645-6] many other places; And where of his owne Charges found & maynteyned in Cheshire, for Servys of the p'liam^t^, duringe all the tyme of the late warrs vntill his Death, Tenne Soldye^rs^ & Twoe Horse, & men bravely furnished, Depted [departed] this lyfe att his howse in westm^r^ [Westminster], the xiij^th^ daye of January 1645-[6], Beinge then of the Age of ffourescore and eighte yeres or thereabouts: And afterwards his bodie was broughte downe into Cheshire, & entombed att Barthomley (whereof hee was Patron) in a fayre vaulte (w^ch^ hee had made), the fyfte of June 1646, about Seyven a Clocke in th' afternoone (beinge ffrydaye), w^th^ out eithe^r^ Sermon or any Solemnitie.

*Chester Citie deliu'd vp.*[1] Chester Citie, havinge byn Beleagred by the p'liament forces for the space of xvij weeks, or more, was vpon Composicon & Articles betwixte the *Lord Byron* for the Citie, & *Colonell Brereton* for the p'liam^t^, deliu'ed vp, vpon Tuesdaye the thirde of ffebruary 1645[-6]: Togeither w^th^ the Castle & Ryall [Royal] Mounte;

Tuesday, Feb: 3. The City of Chester, having been beseiged 17 Weeks, was surrendered by the Lord Byron, to Sir W^m^. Brereton for the Parliament, together with the Castle & Mount-Royall. Soon after they had entred the City, there were brought*

[1] Starvation did what military operations had failed to do; and Brereton entered the city when it was reduced to gaunt misery. Three sermons, one by Fra. Woodcock, a native of Cheshire, were preached before the House of Commons on 19 Feb., 1645-6, in commemoration of the taking of Chester. (See Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. i., p. 388, note *h*.) See also Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 362.

* Burghall's account is continued on page 201.

After the Citie had byn surrounded Rounde, & all the victualls & Releffe kepte from theim by the p'liam^t^ forces for a longe space; Soe that theire was greate famyn & wante in the Citie: Vpon a p'lie. [parley] ytt was agreed by Articles as followeth, viz:— [1645-6]

> Articles concluded & agreed vpon ffebruary the first 1645[-6] Betwixte the comiss^n^ appoynted on the behalfe of John Lord Byron field marshall gen'all of North Wales & Governo^r^ of Chester, on the one pte. And the Comissione^rs^ on the behalfe of Sir Willm. Brereton Baronett, Comander in Cheefe of all the forces of Cheshire and att the leaguer before Chester, on the other pte. for the Surrender of Chester Citie & the Castle & forte theireof.

*ffirst.* That the Lord Byron and all Noblemen, Comanders, officers & gent., & alsoe Souldie^rs^ & all other p'sons whatsoeu'[er] nowe residinge in the Citie of Chester & the Castle & forte thereof shall have libtie. [liberty] to marche out of the said Citie, Castle & fforte, w^th^ all theire appell. [apparel] whatsoeu'[er], & noe other or more Goods horses or Armes then are hereafter menc̄oed. [mentioned]; viz: The Lord Byron w^th^ his horse & Armes & tenne men w^th^ theire horses & Armes to attend him: Alsoe his Ladie & Servants twoe Coaches and foure horses in either of them for the accomodatinge of theim, and suche other Ladies & Gentlemen as the Lord Byron shall thinke meete w^th^ eightie of the said Lords Books & all his deeds and evidences,

[1645-6] manuscripts & wrytings in his possession: The said Lord, his Ladie, nor any theire attendants carryinge amongest theim all aboue ffourty pounds in money & twentie pounds in Plate.

The reste of the Noblemen w^th^ theire Ladies & Servants to marche w^th^ theire horses, each of the said Lords attended w^th^ foure men theire horses & Armes; eu'y [every] such Nobleman carryinge w^th^ him not aboue thirtie pounds in money:

Eu'y [every] Knighte and Colonell to Marche w^th^ twoe men, theire horses & Armes; noe suche Knighte or Colonell to carry w^th^ him aboue Tenne pounds in money:

Eu'y Lieften^t^ Colonell, maior, and Captyn of Horse w^th^ one man, theire horses & Armes, noe such Lieftenaunte Colonell, maior, or Captyn carrying w^th^ him aboue fyve pounds in money:

Eu'y Captyn of ffoote, Esquyer, Graduate, Preachinge Minister, Gentleman of quallitie, the Advocate & Secretary to the Army, eu'y of theim w^th^ his owne horse and sworde (the Minist^rs^ w^thout^ Sworde) None of theim carryinge w^th^ him aboue fiftie shillings & the Minist^rs^ to haue all theire owne Manuscripts, Notes, and evidences: Lieften^ts^, Cornetts, Ensignes & other inferior office^rs^ in Comission on foote w^th^ eu'y man his sworde & not aboue twentie shillinges in Money:

All Troupe^rs^, foot Souldie^rs^, Gunpowder make^rs^, Canoneer^s^, & all other not before mencoed [mentioned] to marche w^thout^ horse & Armes; And that none of the said p'sons. before mencoed. shall in theire Marche, after they are out of the Citie & liberties hereof, bee plu'dred, searched, or molested.

2. That all woemen, of what degree soever, that [1645-6] please to marche out of the Citie shall haue all theire appell. [apparel] w^th^ theim, & suche office^rs^ wyves whose husbands are p'sone^rs^ or absent may carrye suche somes [sums] of money w^th^ theim as are allowed by theis Articles to Comande^rs^, office^rs^, & Gentlemen of their husbands quallities, & noe more.

3. That none of the Comande^rs^, office^rs^, or Souldie^rs^, or any other att or before theire marchinge out of the Citie, Castle, or forte, Doe Iniure [injure] or plu'der the p'son or goods of any, nor carry any thinge awaye out of the said Citie, Castle, or forte, but what ys theire owne & hereby allowed.

4. That all Citizens & othe^rs^ nowe residinge in the Citie shalbe saved & secured in theire psons., & their Goods & estate w^th^in the Citie & Liberties theireof, preserved & kepte from the plu'der & vyolence of the Souldye^rs^, And haue the lyke freedom of Trade as other Cities and Townes vnder the Parliaments p'tection haue, and suche ymmunyties as they of Righte oughte to haue; And that eu'y suche marchaunt & Tradesman of Chester as shall desyr to goe into North Wales to looke after his goods shall haue a passe to goe thether & returne backe agayne; hee firste gyvinge securitte that, duringe his absence, hee will doe no acte to the preiudice of the p'liam^t^: And that noe suche pson. shall att any tyme, w^th^out lycence, carrye more money w^th^ him then sufficiente to defray the Charges of his Jorney. And that All Citizens & others Inhabitaunts whoe shall nowe or hereafter desyre to Marche furthe of the Citie of Chester & not acte anythinge agaynst the p'liam^t^, his

[1645-6] or theire wyves or famylies to haue the benefitt & privilege of Inhabitants.

5. That suche office[rs] & Souldie[rs] as shalbe lefte sicke or wounded w[th]in the said Citie of Chester, or the Castle or forte thereof, shall haue libertie to staye vntill theire recou'y [recovery] & then haue passes to Conwaye or any of the Kinges Garrisons not blocked vp: In the meane tyme to bee p[r]vyded for.

6. That the said Lord Byron, Noblemen, Comanders, Gentlemen, office[rs], and Souldye[rs], & all othe[rs] that shall marche out of the said Towne [*sic* for Citie] shalbe att Libertie to marche to Conwaye, & ffyve dayes are allowed theim to marche thether w[th] a Convaye of two hundred horse: The welshe office[rs] and Souldye[rs] to haue libtie. to goe to their owne homes, All of theim to haue free quart[r] in theire marche & twelve Carryages yf they shall haue occasion to vse soe many; w[ch] carryages are to bee retorned the sixthe daye, & that passes bee gyven theim for theire saufe retorne to Chester, and that they bee secured vntill they retorne thether.

7. That noe Souldie[r] in his marche shalbe Inveigled or entyced from his Colle[rs] [colours] or Comand w[th] any p'myse or inducem[t] whatsoeu'r.

8. That all suche psons., Citizens, or othe[rs] whoe haue famylies in Chester, & are nowe in places remote thence, shall haue the lyke benefitt of these Articles as those whoe are nowe resident in Chester.

9. That the frends of the Earles of Derbye & Lichfield, or of any of these whose Dead bodies are not yett interred in Chester, shall haue two monthes tyme to fetche theym there, whither they please,

provyded that non of theim come attended w^th^ aboue twentie horse. [1645-6]

10. That noe Churche w^th^in the Citie, or evidences, or wrytinges belonginge to the same shalbe defaced.

11. That suche Irishe as weire borne of Irishe parents & havinge taken pte. w^th^ the Rebells in Ireland & nowe in the Citie shalbe p^r^sone^rs^.

12. That all those horses and Armes belonginge to those that marche oute, and not by these Articles allowed to bee taken and carryed out of the Citie, excepte suche horses as are the prop'[er] goods of the Citizens & inhabitaunts that shall remayne in the Citie, before the deliu'y of the same, bee broughte, the horses into the Castle Courte, and the Armes into the Shier [Shire] Hall, where office^rs^ shalbe appoynted to receyve theim.

13. That in consideracon hereof, the said Citie & Castle, w^th^out any slightinge or defacinge thereof, w^th^ all the ordnance, Armes, Ammunycon & all other furniture & p^r^vision for warr therein whatsoeu'[er], (excepte that w^ch^ ys allowed to bee carryed awaye), And all the Records in the Castle w^th^out diminucion, ymbezellinge, or defacinge, bee deliu'ed to the said S^r^ Willm. Brereton, or suche as hee shall appoynte for the vse of the Kinge and p'liamt on Tuesdaye nexte, beinge the thirde of this instant ffebruary 1645[-6], By tenne of the Clocke in the forenoone.

14. That the ffort w^th^ all the ordnance, Armes, Ammunycon & p^r^vision therein of what sorte soeu' [soever] not formerlie graunted or allowed of, vpon the signinge of these Articles bee deliu'ed to the said

[1645-6] S^r Willm. Brereton, or suche as hee will appoynte.

15. That vpon signynge of theis Articles, All p^rsone^ns in the Citie, Castle, and fforte, that haue byn in Armes for the p'liam^t, or imp^rsoned for adhearinge therevnto shall ymedyatlie bee sett att libertie.

16. That the Convoy shall not receyve any iniury in theire goinge or comynge backe, & shall haue three dayes allowed theim for their retorne.

17. That yf any pson. [person] concernyed in any of theise Articles shall vyolate any pte. of theim, such pson. shall loose [lose] the benefitt of all the said Articles.

18. That vpon signynge of these Articles, sufficient hostages, such as shalbe approved of, be gyven for p^rformance of the said Articles.

Signed by vs the Comissione^ns appoynted on the behalfe of the Righte honorable the Lord Byron

| | |
|---|---|
| EDMUND VERNEY | CHRISTOPHER BLEASE |
| JOHN ROBINSON | WILLM. YNCE |
| THO: CHOLMONDELEY | JOHN WERDEN |
| PETER GRIFFITH | JOHN JOHNSON |
| HENRY LEIGHE | EDMUND MORETON |
| THOMAS THROPPE | THOMAS BRIDGE |

What ys done by the Comissione^ns ys confirmed by

JOHN BYRON.[1]

ffor the more full & p'ticular relacon of Reducinge Chester, the same ys conteyned in a Booke sett furthe by *m^r Nathanaell Lancaster,* Chaplain to the Cheshire

[1] See Appendix E for a complete list of Commissioners for Sir William Brereton, as well as this list for John Lord Byron.

fforces, whoe was p[r]sent and eye wittenes to all or most of those p[r]ceedinges, w[ch] Booke beinge putt in Printe for Edward Husbands, Printer to the Ho[ble] Howse of Commons, & are to bee solde att his Shop att the Signe of the Golden Dragon in ffleete streete neere the Inne Temple, London. [1645-6]

All w[ch] forsaid Articles weire well p[r]formed on both pties., And the Citie, Castle, and fforte deliu'ed vp to the said S[r] Willm. Brereton accordinglie; & p[r]sentlie after entringe the Citie, theire weire broughte into the Castle twoe thowsand eight hundred fyftie & three Bodie Armes, ffoure hundred head peeces & many more found afterwards in the Citie, Besides peeces of Ordnance & horse.

*Chirke Castle.* Chirk Castle, beinge held by the Kinges ptie., when they heard of [the] reducinge [of] Chester and surrender of Beeston Castle on Saturdaye Nighte the xxviij[th] of ffebruary 1645[-6], stoole [*i.e.* stole] all pryvatly awaye, & forsook the Castle, And as those Office[rs] & Souldie[rs] weire marchinge awaye, intendinge to haue gonne to the Garrison att Ludloe, The p'liam[t] forces quarteringe about Mountgom'y, havinge some intelligence whither the enemy intended to haue gone, fell vpon theim in their quarters

into the Castle 2000 Arms, 400 Body Arms, 520 Head Peices, besides many found afterwards in the City.

Chirk Castle was surrendered to the Parliament Saturday Febr: 28, & as the Officers & Souldiers were marching away to Ludlow Garrison, the Parliament Forces about Montgomery took them all in their Quarters, about 140, with all their Arms, Bag, & Baggage.

[1645-6] & tooke one hundred & ffourtie of theim, & all theire Armes, Bagge & Baggage.

*Glostershire.* Upon or about the xxj^st^ of Marche 1645[-6], Colonell Brereton w^th^ his p'liam^t^ forces, vnderstandinge that the *Lord Ashley* (or *S^r^ Jacob Astley*) had gotten over the Reever vnto Camden in Glostershire, & from thence was marched to Stowe the g^te^ [Greate], where *Colonell Morgan* joyned w^th^ *Colonell Brereton* Comander in Cheefe, havinge a good Armye (beinge Joyned togeither) of Cheshire, Glostershire, Warwickshire, Darbieshire, & other forces; The Kinges forces intendinge to fighte, had taken theire ground, a place of advantage, for theire musketteers neere the Towne, and theire horse charginge the p'liam^t^ forces twyse very despatlie [desperately]; Some of Glostershire horse Ran awaye cleare out of the field, & many others followed theim: But one Bodie of Warwickshire, Derbyshire, & some othe^rs^ standinge theire grounde, Colonell Brereton came to theim, & encouraged theim to charge the Kinges ptie.; And ledd theim on him selfe vntill they came w^th^in halfe pistoll shott of theim before the[y] fyred. They seeinge theire resolucon receyved the first charge, But then fledd, whereupon the horse on the p'liam^t^ ptie. for a short waye pursued theim, and did some execution, But durst not venter too farr because the bodie of theire foote remayned still wholy in the field; whoe seeinge their horse all fledd, althoughe theire weire but fewe of the p'liam^t^ forces either horse or foote lefte in order in the field to make head agaynst theim, yett the said foote all closed theim selves togeither & called for quarter to two or three of the p'liam^t^ horse that Ridd vp to theim: Soe that

ymedyatlie vpon retorne of theim they deliu'ed vp [1645-6]
theire Armes & became theire p^rsone^rs. The[y] weire
in nu'ber one thowsand sixe hundred fortie and sixe:
Theire weire p^rsoners of accompt taken; the *lord
Ashley*,[1] *Colonell Egerton* of Ridley, *Colonell Corbett* of
Adderley, & his brother, & many other Lieften^t
Colonells, maiors, & Captyns: *S^r Willm. vaughan*
hardly [*i.e.* narrowly] escaped, but not w^thout some
wounds; & about vij hundred fledd; But some of
theim weire taken afterwards.

*Exeter Citie deliu'ed vp.*[2] About Wednesday the viij^th of Aprill [1646]
1646, Exeter Citie,[being] held a Garrison
for the Kinges ptie., havinge byn longe
beseiged by the p'liam^t forces, was deliu'ed vpp to
*Sir Thomas ffearefax.*

A great Battle was fought at Stow in the Wold near Campden, between the Lord Ashleye's Forces, & Sir W^m. Brereton: the Victory fell to Sir William. 1646 of the Enemy were taken Prisoners: those of Note were the Lord Ashley, alias Sir Jacob Ashley, Coll: Egerton of Ridley, Coll: Corbet of Adderley & his Brother, with many others, Lieut. Coll: Majors & Captains. Sir W^m. Vaughan hardly escaped, but not without some Wounds. They fled, but some of them were taken afterwards.

1646. Wednesday April 13.* [Ruthin] having been strongly beseiged by the Parliament Forces was delivered up to Coll: Mitton.

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[1] Old Sir Jacob Astley, when taken prisoner, is reported to have said to his captors, as he sat resting himself on a drum, "Gentlemen, ye may now sit down and play, for you have done all your work, if you fall not out among yourselves."

See also Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 398-9.

[2] See Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 407-8. Sir John Berkeley delivered up Exeter on April 9th.

* In the MS., says Cole, "no place mentioned by mistake."

[1646] *Wrythen [Ruthin] Castle deliu'ed vp.*[1] Mondaye the xiij[th] of Aprill 1646 Wrythen [Ruthin] Castle, lykewyse held by the Kinges ptie., havinge byn stronglie beseiged by the Parliam[t] forces, was deliu'ed vpp vnto *Colonell Mytton.*

*Tutbury Castle deliu'ed vp.*[2] On Tuesdaye the xxj[st] of Aprill 1646 Tutbury Castle, held by the Kinges ptie. was deliu'ed vpp unto *Colonell Brereton.*

*Bridgenorth Castle gyven vp.*[3] On Tuesdaye the xxviij[th] of Aprill 1646, Bridgenorth Castle, held by the Kinges ptie., after ytt had byn longe beseiged by the p'liam[t] forces, And after the Governo[r] of the same Castle had Burned & vtterlie consumed the heigher Towne of Bridgenorth w[th] fyer, surrendered the said Castle to the p'liam[t].

Apr: 21. Tidbury [Tutbury] Castle was delivered up to Sir W[m] Brereton.

Tuesday Apr: 28. Bridgnorth Castle was surrendered.

May 5, the King came voluntarily to the Scotch Army, where he was stayed at Southwell, near Newark upon Trent: & imediately Messengers were sent up to the Parliament to acquaint them of it. There were none but Mr. Ashburnham, & Montrell the French Agent in his Company.

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[1] See letter of Col. Thos. Mytton relating to his exploits in North Wales, and need of more soldiers, written April 8th, to Willm. Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, in Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 408-410.

[2] See Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 412.

[3] Bridgenorth, a place of great strength, had been held by Sir Robert Howard. The burning of the town was attributed, not to the Governor, but to a Mr. Latham, who was given up "to the mercy of the Parliament." See Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 403 and 413.

*The Kinge comynge to Southewell.*[1]

The fifth of Maye 1646, The Kinge beinge distressed not knoweing well whome to trust or putt himselfe in saufety, w^th^ his Armeys beinge all Rowted & scattred, & moste of his Gairysen [garrison] Townes, Cities, & Castles, taken, surrendered, or readie to bee deliu'ed up to the Parliam^t^, did putt himselfe into the Scotts Army att Southewell, neere Newarke vppon Trente, havinge in his Company but onelie *m^r^ Ashburneham*, & *monsier Muntrell* [Montreville or Montreuil] the ffrenche Agent. Newes came p^r^sentlie thereof to the p'liam^t^, whoe caused him to bee staid, otherwyse ytt was ymagined he wolde haue gotten into Scotland (yf hee cold) by reason hee came thether in suche p^r^vate man'[ner], that hee wold not willinglie haue byn knowne. [1646]

*Newarke deliu'ed vp.*[2]

The ix^th^ of Maye 1646, Newarke, beinge longe kept a Garrysone Towne by the Kinges ptie., after they had intelligence of the Kinge beinge att Southewell & theire staid, beinge out of all hope of releefe, deliu'ed vp the Towne to the p'liam^t^.

Saturday May 9. Newark was surrendered to the Parliament.

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[1] It is interesting to note that the Royal Standard was lowered on the 6th May, 1646, at Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, scarcely twenty miles from Nottingham, where, on 22nd Aug., 1642, the King had raised the Standard at the beginning of his disastrous contest with the Parliament. See particulars in Vicars' *Burning Bush*, pp. 416-420.

[2] The articles of capitulation bear date May 7th. Vicars says a Colonell from Newark brought the news to the House of Commons on May 9th. Plague was raging in the town at the time; 1,000 of the inhabitants are said to have died after the surrender.

[1646] *Dudley Castle deliu'ed vp.*[1] The nexte weeke after, in the Begynnynge of the weeke, Dudley Castle, beinge held by the Kinges ptie., was deliu'ed vp to *Colonell Brereton.*

*Ludloe deliu'ed vp.*[2] Ludloe Towne and Castle the xvij[th] of Maye 1646, beinge a stronge holde & made a Garrison by the Kinges ptie., after they had burned a greate pte. of the Towne, did deliu'er vp bothe Towne & Castle to the Parliam[t] vse.

*Beeston Castle defaced.* Chester beinge deliu'ed up aboute the third of ffebruary 1645[-6], p[r]sentlie afterwards command was gyven & warrants sente to the seu'all p'ishes of Bunbury, Tarporley, Wrenbury, & Acton, and some other places and Townshipps, neerest adioyning ffor the pullinge downe, and vtter defacinge of Beeston Castle, w[ch] before Whitsunweeke 1646 was p'formed. Onelie the Gatehowse in the lower warde, & pte. of some Towers in the heigher warde, weire lefte standinge, w[ch] scythens are pulled downe & utterlie defaced. This Castle was buylded, as appeareth by Auncyent

The Week after Dudley Castle was surrendered.

Tuesday May 17. Ludlow was delivered up.

Soon after Chester was taken, Beeston Castle was demolished, which was at the first built by Randle Earle of Chester A:D: 1220.

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[1] Colonel Leveson surrendered Dudley Castle on May 13, 1646.

[2] Sir Thos. Milward, of Eaton, co. Derby, Chief Justice of Chester, and one of the Judges of the Court of the Marches, was taken prisoner at the surrender of Ludlow Castle and fined £360.

Manuscripts in *A° dni.* 1220, by *Earle Randull*, the third Earle of Chester. [1646]

*Oxford deliu'ed vp.*[1] On Wednesdaye the xxiiij$^{th}$ of June 1646, Oxforde, havinge byn made a Garrison by the Kinge, (the Kinge beinge much there in pson.) & soe contynuynge almoste from the Begynnynge of the Civill warres, was vppon Artycles deliu'ed vp vnto the Gen'all *S$^{r}$ Thomas ffearefax* for vse of the p'liam$^{t}$ & State, vpon Condicon the Kinge shold depte. awaye w$^{th}$ Bag and Baggage, & Dyu'$^{rs}$ [divers] Coatches w$^{th}$ the Gentry & theire wyves, Att the Easte porte or Gate on both sides the river to Wheatley. The office$^{rs}$ & Souldye$^{rs}$ marched awaye in very good order w$^{th}$ theire Armes accordinge to the Agreem$^{t}$. They in the whole beinge in Nu'ber about seyven thousand, w$^{ch}$ boare [bore] Armes. The p$^{r}$vision found in the Citie was not muche neither for man or horse, onelie salte beefe & Corne a good quantitie, a fewe Beanes & pease, but very litle haye; Aboute xxx$^{tie}$ peeces of Ordnance and the works very stronge and large.

Upon Wednesday June 24. Oxford was surrendered to the Generall Sir Tho: Fairfax, according to their Agreement. The Garrison consisted of about 7000 Souldiers in Pay, with Townsmen & other Souldiers that bore Arms. There was not much Provision found in the City, either for Man or Horse, only a good Quantity of Salt Beef & Corn, about 30 Peices of Ordinance reddy mounted, & their Works very strong.

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[1] The capitulation treaty of Oxford was signed June 20th, the city was actually surrendered on June 24th. See Vicars' *Burning Bush*, p. 446.

[1646] *Lichfield Close deliu'ed vp.* The xvj$^{th}$ of Julye, 1646, Lichefield Closse, beinge made a Garrison by the Kinges ptie. and a very stronge hold, & a seige laid longe about ytt by the p'liam$^{t}$ forces, was vpon Composicon deliu'ed vp vnto *Colonell Brereton.*

*Worster [Worcester] Cittie deliu'ed vp.*[1] Worster [Worcester] Citie, beinge a Garrison made by the Kinges ptie. was vpon Thursdaye the xxiij$^{th}$ of Julye 1646, By Composicon deliu'ed vp to the p'liam$^{t}$ vse.

*Mutynye in Namptwiche.*[2] Upon Tuesdaye the xiiij$^{th}$ of July, 1646, A great Mutynye was made in Namptwiche by some of the Rude & unseemlie sorte of the Towne Souldye$^{rs}$ to the nu'ber of iij hundred or thereabouts; w$^{th}$out eithe$^{r}$ com'and or Ayde of theire Captyns or head office$^{rs}$, beinge all in Armes & forcinge many honest Townesmen to Joyn w$^{th}$ theim; did by vyolence drawe some of the

July 16. Lichfield Close was surrendered to Sir W$^{m}$. Brereton.

Tuesday July 24. a great Mutiny was among the Souldiers at Namptwich, who took many of the Sequestrators Prisoners, & kept them in Prison 54 Hours, without letting them have either Meat or Drink, but what was conveyed to them privately.

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[1] Worcester held out under Sir Henry Washington until 19th July, when the capitulation was signed. Earl Shrewsbury, his son, Lord Talbot, and 30 county gentlemen surrendered, and the garrison, 1,500 strong, marched out on July 23rd.

[2] At this time the Exchequer was greatly embarrassed by the expense of the War; and petitions, complaining of famine and distress, were seht to London from all parts of the country. This state of things increased until the hungry, ill-clad soldiery, in their discontent, either became mutinous or oppressively cruel.

Comittee of Sequestracons for Namptwiche hundred (beinge in peaceable man'r executing theire office for the State) furthe of the office where all theire Books & records weire, & fetched other some of theim (and one of the Collecto$^{rs}$) furthe of seu'all howses, wheire they weire att Dynner, And putt theim all in the Com'on Pryson in Namptwiche amongst Cavalie$^{rs}$, Theeves, and horse stealers (w$^{ch}$ weire then theire) havinge byn the Com'on p$^{r}$son from the firste makinge the Towne a garrison for thowsands of Lothesome, Lowsy, wounded & maymed Souldye$^{rs}$, wheire many of theim had Dyed, & noe outlett for theim to doe theire needs In: but onelie the p$^{r}$son howse, w$^{ch}$ was soe filthie & stinkinge that ytt was Gods mercy that they cold endure ytt. Neither wold they allowe theim to haue either meate or Drinke, nor quarter in any other howse or place; althoughe ytt was desyred bothe by the heighe Sherryff of the Countie, & many of the Deputie Lieften$^{ts}$ & Justices of the Peace beinge then in Towne: (sittinge their qter. [Quarter] Sessions): But not able to medle w$^{th}$ such a Rude multitude on the sudden, vnlesse they should haue reased the Countrey, or called In the Trayned bands, w$^{ch}$ wolde haue bredd a greater mischeefe: Neither wolde they willinglie haue allowed theim stooles or quyssions [cushions] to reste on: But onelie the flower [floor] or bare bordes for the space of twoe dayes and a halfe & twoe Nights; abusing theim in wordes, callinge theim Rounde headed Rouges [rogues]; abusing theire wyves, children, & servants by the names of whores, & all evell wordes the[y] colde devyse; not suffring theim to bring theim any sustenance, but what was p$^{r}$vatlie convayed vnto [1646]

[1646] theim back wayes, throwe holes of the Pryson; neither wolde they suffer theim to goe furthe for doinge of theire needs duringe the whole space of ffyftie foure howers (Layinge nothinge to their charge) but alledged that theire wages was pte. vnpaid: Althoughe they knewe that the same Com'ittee never paid theim, nor noe othe^r^ Souldye^rs^ any; neither had they any warrant to pay theim any: ffor they receyved theire paye alwayes from the Treasurer, By warrant from the Deputie Lieuten^ts^. But as some of theim said, They wolde Beate Jacke for Gill; yett they wold not deliu[er] theim furthe, vntill Colonell Lothian & some othe^r^ gents. had vndertaken for theire paye. The hon^ble^ lower Howse of Com'ons beinge made acquynted w^th^ that greate abuse vsed vnto the said Comi'ttee, did appoynte a Com'ittee to examen the buysiness, And sente downe orde^rs^ to the Deputie Lieften^ts^ of the Countie of Chester; Both to examen witnesses and certefie: But they did neither: by reason they weire either in some faulte for not beinge more carefull to see the Souldye^rs^ paid; or els beinge much tro'bled w^th^ the Busines of the Countrey. But the said Com'ittee had never any satisfac'on for the same.

Thursday July 23* Exeter [*sic*] was delivered up to the Parliament.

About the latter End of August Flint Castle was surrendered

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* Burghall is here wrong in the name of the place. See pages 203 and 208. For Exeter *read* Worcester; which latter city surrendered on July 23, 1646.

*fflynte Castle.* [*Aug.* 24.] Aboute the later ende of August 1646, [1646] fflynte Castle, garrisoned & kepte by the Kinges ptie., was deliu'ed vp for vse of the p'liam't; And scythens [since] demollished.

*Denbigh Castle.*[1] Vpon the xxvij[th] of October 1646, Denbighe Castle, beinge a garrison and kepte by the Kinges ptie., was deliu'ed vp for the vse of the p'liam[t].

*Conway.*[2] On Thursdaye the xij[th] of November 1646, Conwaye towne & Castle, w[ch] had byn for a longe tyme a stronge Garrison kepte & maynteyned by the Kinges ptie., & a place almost Invincible, was deliu'ed vp to the Parliam[t].

*Holte Castle.* Holte Castle, a very stronge holde, [1646-7] beinge kepte by the Kinges ptie. a longe space, from whence they had donne muche mischeefe, & burned ffarne [Farndon] & all Holte, (beinge an Auncyent Corporacon in Wales), was deliu'ed vp by *S[r] Richard Loid* [Lloyd][3] Governo[r] thereof, & the Aucthor of all that mischeefe & burnynge, for vse of the Parliam[t] vpon ffryday the xv[th] of January 1646[-7].

for the Use of the King & Parliament. Oct: 28 Denbigh Castle Nov: 12 Conway Castle. Jan: 15, Holt Castle where Sir Ricd. Lloyd was Governor, who caused all the Town to be burnt.

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[1] Phillips gives Oct. 26, as the date of the surrender of Denbigh Castle. (See *Civil War in Wales*, vol. i., p. 379; ii., pp. 308, 328.)

[2] Conway was captured by Col. Mytton, on 18 Nov., who ordered many Irish to be tied back to back and thrown into the sea.

[3] There is a superb monument in Wrexham Church with a newly cut inscription to the memory of Sir Richard Lloyd, who died May 5th, 1676.

[1646-7] On the xv$^{th}$ day of January 1646[-7], Namptwiche Towne was disgarrisoned ; & all the paye from Captyns, office$^{rs}$ and Soldye$^{rs}$ taken from theim : & they all discharged by the Deputie Lieften$^{ts}$ of Cheshire by order from the p'liam$^{t}$, w$^{ch}$ tooke effecte in ffebruary nexte after.

*Namptwiche garrison sold$^{r}$[iers] disbanded.*

*A greate ffyer in Namptwiche.*

The xxij$^{nd}$ of Marche 1646[-7], beinge Mondaye, a litle after Nyne a Clock in the Nighte, theire happened a greate and terrible fyer in Namptwiche, throwe the Negligence of the Ostler in Swan Stable, w$^{th}$ a Candle, w$^{ch}$ in three howe$^{rs}$ did consume & burne a greate p[ar]te of the same Stable, The Blacke Lyon Stable, & pte. of the Lambe Stable, beinge all neire togeither, w$^{th}$ muche of the Haye, Strawe, & materialls therein, togeither w$^{th}$ pte. of the Swan Howse, and pte. of *Will'm. Pratchetts* Kitchen, & pte. of some other buyldinges, Beside many thatched howses, neerest adioyninge weire vncovered, as widowe *Arcalls* Kitchen, *Henrye Hoyase* [?] howse, beinge newly thatched, and pte. of *m$^{r}$ Walthalls* horse Mylne; To the greate losse and damage of the Owne$^{rs}$. But ytt pleased God, there was but small wynde, & good helpe by reason of many Soldiers quartred in the

Jan: 15. Nantwich was disgarrisoned, & all Pay taken off from Capt:, Officers, & Souldiers, by the Deputy Lieutenants.

March 22, there happened a Fire in Nantwich about nine a Clock in the Night, caused through the Negligence of the Hostler in the Swan Stable, not looking well to his Candle. It did Hurt to that House, & some others, but was quenched in Time ; else the Town had been in Danger.

Towne that Nighte, w^ch^ tooke greate paynes, or else the fyer begynnynge in the very harte of the towne, & water scarce, the whole Towne had byn in greate danger of burnynge. [1647]

*Another ffyer att Namptwiche.*

The xiij^th^ of August 1647, Another greate ffyer, beinge in the Welsh Roe in Namptwiche, on the outside of the dwellinge howse of widowe *Bebbington*, beinge a thatched howse, betwixte xj & xij of the Clocke in the daye, w^ch^ hapened by Shootinge att a Crowe on the said howse, w^th^ a Birdinge peece, Kyndinge in the Thatche, burned exceedinglie, & fyred *Michell Davenports* howse, beinge nexte adioynynge, w^ch^ howses, by reason of a greate helpe weire quicklie uncovered, & bothe had harme by the fyer; but Davenports howse had the greater harme; and also Davenports fyred *John Prees* howse, beinge nexte adioyninge, w^eh^ spoyled a greate pte. of one Baye,[1] and Began to enter on *Reginald Kynseyes* howse; But ytt pleased God, that the same hap'ninge in the Daye and the Towne reased, & greate helpe came, or els the whole streete, especiallie that side, had byn burned. And about a moneth before, All the roofe of a Wichehouse of *m^r^ wilbrams* & *Dorothy Brown* was

1647. Aug: 13. Another Fire happened, but did not much Hurt.

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[1] "*Bay*," an architectural term; applied to houses, it appears to have meant the sections into which they were divided by the principal beams supporting the gables. Farmers still speak of a *hay-bay* or *corn-bay*, meaning that *division* or *part* of the barn where hay or corn is stored.

[1647] burned as they weire wallinge & makeinge Salte, w^ch^ yf ytt had happ'ned in the Nighte might haue endangered a great pte. of the Towne.

*Plague att Wistaston.*

The Plague began in Wistaston, beinge a litle p'ishe of one Towneship, not twoe myles from Namptwiche, a litle after midsom^r^ 1647, & conty'ued about Nyne weekes; in w^ch^ space theire dyed xxvj p'sons.[1] The same began in the howse of widowe *Scott*, a Bleacher of Clothes.[2]

[1648]

*Chester lyke to have byn betrayed.*

On Tuesdaye the xx^th^ of June 1648, the Citie of Chester had lyke to have byn betrayed & s'[ur]prysed by some Cavalie^rs^ lurkinge in the Citie after the same was reduced, and the Throats of the Governo^r^, Captyns and officers practized [? purposed] to haue byn cutt: But ytt pleased God that the same was disclosed by one *Thomas Swyndall*, whoe was hyred

This Year the Plague began at Wistaston, near Namptwich, a little after Midsumer, & continued about 9 Weeks, whereof died 26.

The Plague began in Middlewich Aug: 1. & continued till about Shrovetide after, during which Time there dyed about 200 & 13.*

1648. June 20. A Plot to have betrayed Chester, was discovered, & prevented, & some that should have been Actors executed.

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[1] No burials are recorded at Wistaston in this year; the parish register there having been very irregularly kept from 1646 to 1652.

[2] *Bleaching* and *Dyeing* was a trade carried on at Wistaston until not many years ago. The *Dye-house* beside the stream in the valley near the Hall, was occupied for several generations by the family of *Boote*.

* Malbon's corresponding paragraph is on page 216.

to have p^r^cured the same donne; his conscience accusinge him, hee voluntarilie made *Colonell Duckinfield*[1] acquynted therew^th^, wheirevpon *maior Houghton*, beinge one w^ch^ was accused, was ymedyatlie apprehended & sente to p'son [prison]; And beinge searched theire was found in his pockett a letter from *Colonell Edward Moldesworth*, who was alsoe apprehended & ymp'soned: The contents as followeth, viz :— [1648]

Deare S^r^

prepare to morrowe betwixte twelve and one I will come to you p^r^sentlie so soone as you goe to worke. The word ys *ffreedom*; the marke a litle white vpon yo^r^ lefte side at the harte. God speed vs. Tvesday, I doubte not but before Nighte my *Ladie Gamull* will haue her Rents.

Your faythfull frend,
EDWARD MOLDESWORTH.

One, *Captyn Oldham*, was alsoe accused, apprehended & ymp^r^soned, Examinacons weire taken, & by the confessions of the said *Colonell Moldesworthe*, *Lieften^t^ Colonell James Baker*, *Lieften^t^ John Purcell*, *Raufe Smythe*, *Corporall Willm. Ashton*, *Thomas Swyndall*, *Samuel Plat*, & *William Barton*, beinge pryvate Soldye^rs^ & Cheefe Acto^rs^ for the Surp'[ri]sall of the Citie & Castle of Chester, they confessed that they had concluded to haue surprized the said Citie & Castle vpon Tuesdaye the xx^th^ of June; and vpon the surprizall notice sholde have byn gyven vnto the said Moldesworth, & others w^ch^ weire appoynted to Lye in the howse neere the Castle, by shootinge of the greate gunnes, and Lieften^t^ Oldham should haue

[1] Col. Robert Duckenfield was appointed Governor of Chester in July, 1649.

[1648] byn Governo$^{r}$ of the Castle: ffor w$^{ch}$ offence they weire some of theim tryed by a Councell of Warr, & had Judgm$^{t}$ to Dye: Lieften$^{t}$ Oldham, & Willm. Ashton weire shott agaynst the wall in Northgate Streete for their offence.

*Plague att Midlewiche.*

The Plauge began in Midlewiche the firste of Auguste 1647, And contynued there vntill about Shroftyde nexte afterwards; Duringe w$^{ch}$ tyme theire dyed of the plauge aboute twoe hundred and thirteene men, woemen, & children.

*Battell agaynst the Scotts our enymyes.*

The xvij$^{th}$ daye of Auguste 1648, A greate Army of Scotts, as was reported & beleeved to be trewe, to the nu'ber of Thirtie and twoe thowsand, Came as farr into England as Preston in Lancashire, w$^{th}$out any resistance, intendinge to haue destroyed the Englishe Nation & Parliam$^{t}$; But theire beinge opposed & sett vpon very suddenlie in their quarte$^{rs}$ by the valiant & renowned Englishe *Gen'all Cromwell,* (many of the Scotts Army beinge quartered in Preston, & many, especiallie theire horse, further Remote in seu'all [several] Towneshipps) who slewe and wounded about foure Thowsand of theim, & tooke about sixe thowsand of theim p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$, & soe

This year the Scots came into England with an Army of 30000 Men, pretending our Breach of Covenant:* but were utterly routed by Generall Cromwell, & his Forces. At this Battle at

* It would be perhaps nearer the truth, if Burghall had said that the Duke of Hamilton fought more for Royalism than Presbyterianism.

Rowted & scattred theire whole Army, that the[y] [1648]
fledd towards Warrington: & beinge pursued by the said Englishe Gen'all, betwixte Preston & Warrington, weire taken foure thowsand, w^ch^ submitted theim selves p^r^sone^rs^, & twoe thowsand and fyve hundred of theim slayne. Then the Scotts beinge thus Rowted and Slayne, the remaynder of theire Army fled into Cheshire, but beinge theire, and in greate frighte, & straungers in that Countrey, not knowinge w^ch^ waye to take, beinge muche scattred, (theire was not many of theim slayne ffor they weire content to yeld theim selves p^r^sone^rs^) when they p^r^ceyved that Countie to Ryse agaynst theim, and call for quarter to any that wold oppose theim; Soe that many of that Countie had greate store both of horse & p^r^sone^rs^; for almost any one or twoe w^ch^ did but offer to oppose theim, had viij, x, [8, 10,] or a dozen p^r^sone^rs^ & horses. Theire weire broughte p^r^sone^rs^ to Namptwiche,[1] p'sons of accompt, viz.: *Earle Traquerne* [Traquaire], *Lord Cornegy, Lord Lunton, Lord Ramsay, Sr James Lasly* [Leslie], *Sr Nicholas maismath;* four maiors; twelve Captyns; eleaven Lieften^ts^; three Ensigns; three Cornetts; one quarter^mr^; fyve ministers; fyfteene gent. of quallitie, & aboute one thowsand Com'on Soldier^s^.

Preston in Lancashire, Aug. 17. 4000 were slain, 6000 taken Prisoners; & in their Pursuit between Preston & Warrington, 2500 more were slain & 4000 taken Prisoners. Duke Hamilton,

[1] Lieut.-General Cromwell, in a letter dated Aug. 20, 1648, describing his victory in Lancashire, says:—"The Duke [Hamilton] is marched with his remaining horse, which are about three thousand, towards Namptwich, where the gentlemen of the country have taken about five hundred of them." (See *Civil War Tracts*, reprinted in Cheth. Soc. Publ., vol. ii., p. 264.)

[1648] They were almost all of theim a fortnighte in Towne; The greate men & better sorte of theim weire well quartered in Innes, & other sufficient howses, & the Com'on Soldye$^{rs}$ weire kepte in the Churche.

*Prisoners Removed.* On Tuesday the fyfte of September 1648, the Noblemen weire removed to Warwick Castle; But the weeke before all the Com'on sorte in the Churche, weire sent abroad to seu'all Townshipps in the Countrey, w$^{ch}$ vsed to sett furthe the Trayned bannds; eu'y towneshipp had double the p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$ to quarter to the nu'ber of the trayned bands. The Mynisters, Captyns, and other officers [were] quartered in the Towne for a long tyme afterwards.

*Duke of Hamilton taken.* About the same tyme, *The Duke of Hamilton* & many of the rest of the Scotts weire taken att and about Utsetter [Uttoxeter]. The Duke w$^{th}$ some of theim weire sente vp to London, where in the Pallace yarde att westm$^{r}$ [Westminster] the nynth of Marche 1648[-9], hee & the *Earle of Holland* & the *Lord Capell* weire all three beheaded.

*Barwicke & Carlisle.*[1] The fyfth of October 1648, Barwicke, beinge helde & made a garrison by the Kinges ptie., was surrendered vnto *Lieuten. Gen'all Cromwell;* & *Colonell Brighte* vpon surrender

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[1] Berwick was surrendered to Cromwell on 30th Septr., 1648, by Argyll, who, coming from Edinburgh, met Cromwell on the 22nd, a short distance from the border. Burghall's date is evidently wrong; and Malbon's date may refer to the entry of English soldiers into the border town.

The disbanding of the soldiers at Carlisle followed shortly after.

of Carelyle [Carlisle] was sente to take possession thereof. [1648]

*Colchester.*[1] Colchester was surrendered vp to the Parliam[t] vse the xxviij[th] of August 1648, wherein weire very many Lords, Knightes, Esqrs., Colonells, Captyns, office[rs], Commande[rs], & Comon Soldye[rs], to the nu'ber of many thowsands; many escaped, but weire most of theim taken afterwards: *S[r] Charles Lucas, & S[r] George Lisle,*[1] *& Coll. ffarr* weire adiudged to dye; And weire afterwards shott.

*A ffyer at Namptwiche.* The 29[th] of November 1649[? 1648], beinge Thursdaye, theire happened a greate ffyer in the howse of *Owen Lea* in the Beam Streete in Namptwiche, Betwixt xij and one a Clocke in the mornynge, w[ch] burned the roofe of his said howse & much of his Goods, and alsoe the roofe of *Anne Walthals* howse nexte adioynge on the East ende, & all her goods; And lykewyse muche of the tymber of bothe howses; and twoe howses of *Wilkensons* weire uncovered and the Thatch pulled of[f] them, or else they had byn burned alsoe.

the Generall, was taken about Utceter, [Uttoxeter] carried up to Westminster, where he was tryed, found guilty & executed.

Barwick & Carlisle were surrendered to Crumwell Oct. 15.

About this Time Colchester was delivered, & many Prisoners of Note in it.*

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[1] Sir Charles Lucas, of Horsley, co. Essex, Kt., Sir George Lisle, and a royalist army of 4,000, entered Colchester on 12th June, 1648. On the following day Lord Fairfax commenced the siege. The town surrendered on the 28th Aug., after 730 horses had been slaughtered for food; and Lucas and Lisle were shot at the castle the same evening.

* Burghall's account of the War ends here. His *Providence Improved* is resumed on page 226.

[1648] Aboute Bartholomewe daye [24th Aug.] *Beaumaris surrendered vp.*[1] 1648, *Colonell Mytton & Colonell Lothian* of Namptwiche, wth many Comandes, Captyns, offices, and Comon Soldyes for the Parliamt to the nu'ber of xiij hundred horse & foote of Cheshire, Shropshire & North Wales, marched to Wrythen [Ruthin] where most of theire forces mett. ffrom theire they marched throwe Denbighe to St. Assaphe from thence to Abbergaly, from thence to Lanrouse [Llanwrst], and from thence to Bangor, wheire theire ys onelie a greate Ryver betwixt that & Anglesey; & theire the[y] Laye on theire garde fourteene dayes vntill Boates weire broughte to theim to carrye theim over. On Mondaye Nighte, beinge Michaelmas daye [29th Sept.], the[y] Boated over theire men into Anglesey, & surprized the Garde, to the astonyshmt of the Islandes, & staid theire by the water side a daye & a Nighte wthout receyving any Alaram̃, The Bodie of theim beinge att and about Bewmarrys, reported to bee in nu'ber twoe or three thowsand on the Kinges ptie. And the nexte mornynge they marched towards theim, & theire meetinge wth theim about twoe or three of the Clocke in thafter noone, the[y] ingaged Battell betwixt theim; & contynued in fighte twoe or three

[1] The Royalist rising in Anglesea and Carnarvon began about the middle of July, 1648, but came to a speedy end through mismanagement and treachery. Sir John Owen was too impatient to wait for Lord Byron's army; and Archbishop Williams betrayed their designs. The army in Anglesea was led by an inexperienced officer, Col. Richard Bulkeley, the youthful son of Lord Bulkeley, and was easily defeated by Mytton and his 1,500 men. See also Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 306-313.

howe[rs], But in conclusion the Kinges ptie. retreated into the Towne, Churche, and Castle; & those in the Towne and Churche p[r]sentlie sounded to a plie. [parley] w[ch] was graunted vnto theim: And the conclusion was that they shold haue onelie quarter for their lyves, & to surrender vp the Towne & Churche vnto the vse of the p'liam[t], together w[th] all Armes, Collo[rs], drumes, powder, Ammunycon & p[r]vision whatsoeu'[er], w[ch] was p[r]formed; And the same Evenynge the p'liam[t] forces entred the Towne; But the Castle about a weeke after; & then vpon Composicon for quarter onelie. The[y] surrendered the same alsoe w[th] all Armes, Ammunycon & p[r]vision whatsoeu'[er] was in the same. Theire weire not aboue twentie on the p'liam[t] side slayne & wounded; But of the othe[r] ptie. a greate nu'ber. [1648]

*ffinis*

*p[er] me* THOMAM MALBON

1651.

[End of Malbon's account of the Civil War.]

[1651] The Scotts forces w$^{th}$ theire Kinge weire in Nampt-wiche on Monday the xviij$^{th}$ of August 1651, but did not much harme; onelie tooke Armes & Cheese; and the nexte daye afterwards marched awaye. And after they had Garrisoned Worcester, the Parliam$^{t}$ forces, com'anded by *Lord Gen'all Cromwell* stormed the same and quyte Rowted the Enymy, the third daye of September 1651. And Cheshire forces came home agayne on Tuesday ix$^{th}$ of September 1651,[1] beinge juste one moneth furthe.

The *Earle of Derbie* w$^{th}$ his forces, beinge about xv hundred, weire quyte Rowted in Lancashire in & aboute Wyggen [Wigan] by *Colonell Lilborne* & his forces, the first of September 1651, Wheire manie weire slayne & many taken p$^{r}$sone$^{rs}$. The Earle fledd after the Kinge to Worcester, w$^{th}$ a smale Company, beinge a litle hurte in the face; But after the Enemyes Route, He fledd backe and was taken att Sandford Bridge in Shropshire,[2] & afterwards to Chester where by a Councell of Warr hee & *S$^{r}$ Tymothye ffetherston & Captyn Benbowe*, weire all tried & had Judgmt. to dye, on Wednesday the first of

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[1] The Parish Register records the burial of a soldier :—
"1651. Aug. 22. Richard Royston, a soldier in the Scotch Army."

[2] *James, Earl Derby*, together with the *Earl of Lauderdale*, and *Sinclair*, were taken prisoners by Capt. Oliver Edge, a Lancashire man. The story is told in the *Memoirs of Capt. Hodson, of Coley*, who was present on the occasion, and who fixes the place on "*the road about half a mile south of Nantwich.*" This would be in *Cheshire;* and though there is a place called *Sandford Bridge* in Cheshire, about four miles south of Nantwich, I am inclined to think Malbon would not be likely to have made a geographical error in the name of the county; and that Capt. Hodson, who probably was not so well acquainted with the neighbourhood, was wrong in fixing the situation of Sandford Bridge so near to Nantwich.

October 1651, viz.: the said Earle to bee beheaded att Bolton in Lancashire that day ffortnight; afterwards Captyn Benbowe to bee shott at Shrowesbury the same daye; & S^r^ Tymothye[1] to bee beheaded att Chester that daye three weekes, w^ch^ was all p'formed accordinglie. [1651]

The nexte weeke afterwards *John Saer, Captn John Benbow,* & some othe^rs^ weire alsoe tryed by a Councell of Warr att Chester and weire adiudged to dye. *John Saer* was hanged vpon the Comon Gallowes att Chester on Tuesdaye the ffourth of November;[2] where some more weire hanged for seu'all offences the same daye beinge condemned att the assizes att Chester held on the weeke before: & Captyn Benbow was Shott att Shrowesbury.

On Thursdaye in Whitson wicke, beinge the x^th^ of June 1652, certyn men beinge marlinge w^th^ one . . . [name not given] in Worhall [Wirrall] hundred, fyve men weire all slayne w^th^ the fall of a clodd of marle. [1652]

On Sondaye the xx^th^ of June 1652, The p'ishone^rs^ of Lawton beinge in the Churche in th' afternoone, he[a]reing Gods worde, A greate storme comynge w^th^ wynde thunder & Lightninge, The thunder bolte & Lightninge or what els, pleased God, entred in att one of the Steeple wyndoes; broke the Greate Bell wheele; did much harme in the Steeple breakinge the Roofes & floores & came downe amongest the People & killed eleaven dead, viz.: a sonne of *John*

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[1] His real name was Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh. He was buried at St. Michael's, Chester; the entry in the Register being as follows:—
"1651, S^r^ Timothye ffetherston, Knt., dyed 15 Oct."

[2] This date should be Oct. 20. See Earwaker's *Local Gleanings*, vol. ii., pp. 79-81; and my *History of Nantwich*, p. 190.

[1652] *Pursels, Will'm. Beeche* of Audley p'ishe. [a webster]; *Will'm. Mearham* [collier] of the same p'ishe., *Thomas Poole*, of Road, [Rode] Blacksmith; *John Houghton*, servante to widowe *Hancocke* of Road; *Will'm. Brereton*, s'vant to *John Stonyer; Peter Capper*, s'vant to *Richard Merry; John Parker* [a beggar lad]; *ffrancis Lowe*, Carpenter; *John Hall* [blacksmith]; *John Pursell*, Carpenter;[1] Besides to the nu'ber of xij more or thereabouts stricken, & sore astonyshed, not killed; But not any of theim had any wounds nor harme to bee seene; onelie some of theim weire blacke in some pte. of theire Bodies.

[1653] The xx^th^ of Aprill 1653, beinge wednesdaye, the *Lord Gen'all Cromwell; maior Gen'all Harrison* & othe^rs^ of the office^rs^ of the Army, havinge a greate Company of ffyer-Locks neer theim, came into the Parliament howse, the Parliam^t^ sittinge, And then & theire told theim of the[i]r evell carryage in the publique buysiness, & greate wast & expence of Treasure. And tooke the Speaker furthe of the Cheere & putt him furthe of the howse; tooke the Mace and suche Wrytinges as weire then in the howse and then all the rest of the Howse arrose & wente theire wayes & the Lord Gen'all locked the doore, putt the keye in his Pockett, And after wente to Whitehall and discharged the Councell of State.

[1648-9] KINGE CHARLES Behedded neere the Banquettinge Howse at Whitehall London on Tuesday the xxx^th^ of January 1648[-9].

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[1] This last name is wrong. It should have been "Antony, a Yorkshire lad, a collier," as appears in a list of killed, and description of the catastrophe by Randall Sillito, the Rector of the Church; with which, with this exception, Malbon's list of names fully agrees. (See Earwaker's *Local Gleanings Magazine*, pp. 15-18.)

1655. A litle before Bartholomewe Daye 1655, [1655] was the greatest ffloodes by reason of aboundance of Rayne, as noe man lyvinge had seen the lyke. Weever did tutche the bottom of Namptw$^{ch}$ Bridge, drowned all *Mislesiche* & the lower ende of welsh Roe; and the Reever Ranne throwe *m$^{r}$ Hassalls* gates a full Mylne water & drowned the streete vnto the Poste att *Kendalls* doore, & did very muche harme in drowninge many wiche howses & especially in many water works betwixte the Mylnes & Bryne pitt. But in Northwiche where Weever & Done did meete, ytt did farr more harme.

*Bryne Pitt Works [at Nantwich.]*[1]

On or aboute the xvij$^{th}$ daye of June [1656] 1656, greate works att the Brine pitt weire began & contynued vntill the 9$^{th}$ of September nexte followinge, w$^{th}$out any Int$^{r}$mission, Savinge the fayre weeke, w$^{ch}$ cost about ccc$^{ll.}$ [£300.]

*Thomas Malbon, Jun$^{r}$, Thomas Sparrowe,* & *John Watson* beinge the Rulers; *Willm. Thrushe* another Ruler, but then dead."

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"*Thomas Malbon owethe* [owneth] *this Booke* 1657."

[End of Thomas Malbon's writings.]

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[1] See account of the salt trade in my *History of Nantwich*, pp. 252-267.

# BURGHALL'S PROVIDENCE IMPROVED.

(*Continued from* p. 219.)

(Jan. 1648-9 — 1663.)

[1648-9] This Year Jan: 19. King Charles was brought the last Time to Westminster Hall, to be Tryed for his Life, where a Scaffold was purposely built, & Serjeant Bradshaw in his Scarlet Robes sate as Lord President, with many other Comissioners: where, after some Time spent, hee had his Judgment to have his Head cutt off from his Body, which was afterwards performed over against Whitehall, Jan: 30, next ensuing, where his Head was cutt off at one Blow, about 2 of the Clock in the Afternoon; & the Body & Head put together in a Coffin, which was there reddy for that Purpose. A strange Act, & the Like never seen, or known off in England before.*

A little after this, Duke Hamilton, (under the Title of the Earle of Cambridge:) Earle of Holland, & Lord Capell, were also tryed for their Lives, by Serj. Bradshaw, as L^d^ President, with other Comissioners, in Westminster Hall: & March 9 following, they were beheaded in the Pallace Yard at Westminster. At the same Time the Lord Goring, & Sir John Owen were condemned but were reprieved.

1649] 1649. This Year, Aug: 2. Coll: Jones† obtained a great Victory against the Marquis of Ormond, who coming to beseige Dublin, with an Army of 19000 Men, was utterly routed. Coll: Jones his Forces were not above 5000, (as the Report was) & yet not the 3^d^ Part of his Foot came to fight. There were slain & taken of the Enemy 7000, and about 40 of the Parliament Side.

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* Presbyterianism had always hoped for some compromise with the King. Charles was tried and condemned by the Army leaders to the horror of everybody else.

† Col. Michael Jones, who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, died of a fever in Ireland during Cromwell's campaign there.

Sep: 11. General Cromwell, being in Ireland, stormed Tredagh,* & at the first Assault, he was repulsed & lost many Men, but at the 2d he took it, & put them all to the Sword. [1649]

The English Forces prospered & prevailed very much in Ireland, & the Irish were subdued exceedingly! The Lord now avenged the innocent Blood that was shed in the Massacre A:D: 1641.†

1650. Great Preparations were made against the Scots. A strong Army under Cromwell was sent against them, for adhering to Charles the 2d their new King, whom the Parliament of England, (such as it then was) had, by their Acts & Ordinances cashiered, with all the Royall Progeny.‡ [1650]

In September Gen: Cromwell obtained a great Victory over them at Dunbar, where were slain 4000 private Souldiers, taken Prisoners 1000, all their Horse kill'd, taken, or made unserviceable, about 2000; Comission Officers as Collonells, Lieut: Collonells taken, 299. Comissioners of State 2, viz: Libberton, & Sir James Lunsdon, Lieut: Gen: of their Foot: Foot Arms 1500, 32 Peices of Ordinance, with all their Amunition. The Scots Word was The Covenant: The English, The Lord of Hosts.§

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* Old spelling of Drogheda.

† "Cromwell & Bradshaw were admirable Executioners: the "former's putting the Irish to the Sword, and murthering them by "Thousands, seems to please & delight the inhuman Mind of this "Minister of God's Word." (*Cole.*)

‡ Only a small number of Presbyterians attended the House of Commons at this time. "*Cashiered*," meant, to turn out of place. Parliament decided against any of the late King's family taking the Crown.

"I suppose the Presbyterian Gentleman began by this Time to "grow sick of their Independent Rulers, who cashiered them as they "well deserved. Did not he see the Lord avenging the innocent "Blood which they had shed in 1648, & before, upon their besotted "Heads? Why may not the one have been a Judgment, as well as "the other?" (*Cole.*)

§ "They were very well met: a greater Collection of hypocritical "Scoundrels rarely met together so a propos to cut one another's "Throats." (*Cole.*)

[1651] 1651. This Year the King of Scots came into England, with an Army of 16000 or thereabouts, which was wholly routed by Cromwell at Worcester. Yet the King himself escaped, & got safe into France, in a strange & wonderfull Manner.

This Year was great Draught in March, Aprill, May, & June: but upon seeking God by Prayer & Fasting, wee had Supply of Rain in due Time.

[1652] 1652. May 18 was a great Sea Fight between the English & the Dutch, in the Downs, which lasted 4 Hours. Much Hurt was there done on both Sides. Also many other Skirmishes happened between us, & the Hollanders: the Events were divers, but for the most Part we had the better.

June 20, in Lawton Church, as the Minister was preaching, 11 yong Men were slain instantly by the Lightning that was then. The Minister's Text next Day, being their Funerall, was Luke 13, 4.*

[1653] 1653. Generall Cromwell & his Officers dissolved the Parliament, & sent out his Writts into all Cities & Counties to sumon others, whom hee thought fitt; who met at Westminster July 4, voted themselves a Parliament, & acted accordingly.

In August there was a cruell Sea Fight between England & Holland, the Victory fell to the English. Van Trump the Dutch Admiral was slain, & De Witt was stabb'd as soon as he came to Land, by one of their own Men.

Among other Things the New Parliament made an Act, that no Persons must be married but by a Justice of Peace, Ministers having Nothing to do in it. [Aug. 24] †

Upon Munday Dec: 12 the New Parliament dissolved themselves & resigned all their Power to Generall Cromwell, who, the Day following was proclaimed Lord Protector of England, Scotland, & Ireland, who took an Oath to the State to be true to 21 Articles for the Good of the People. The Occasion of the Parliaments dissolving was the voting down of Tythes & Ministry.

[1654] 1654. Sept: 3 the Protector called another Parliament: but a Clash fell among them at the very Beginning, & none were

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* See Malbon's account on pages 223-4.

† See *Local Gleanings Magazine*, pp. 190, 221, for a reprint of this Act of Parliament, with illustrations from Parish Registers.

admitted to it, but those that took the Engagement to be true to [1654-5]
the Protector.

Jan: 22 after, the Protector dissolved the Parliament, before any thing was done: tho' the same Day they intended to have presented to him the Acts they had made for his Confirmation.

This Year 4 cheif Men of the Army, viz: Harrison, Rich, Carew & Courtney, were imprisoned for speaking against the Protector, & the present Government, & for refusing to come at the Protectors Call.

1655. Besides our great Navy under Blake and Penn, which [1655]
forraged as far as Tunis, Algiers & Tripolis, another was sent forth under Coll: Venables, with 1000 Men, for the Western Islands of America; which assaulting Hispaniola, were there defeated, with a great Loss of Men: tho' afterwards, those that were left there, took an Iland called Jamaica, & planted there.

1655. The Quakers, a giddy & absurd Sort of Heretics, holding partly with Papists, partly with Anabaptists, partly with Antinomians, began lately to start up amongst us, & this Year they multiplied in many Places.*

Their religion consists cheifly in censuring others, & railing upon them, especially Ministers, whom they despised, & counted as the Dung of the Earth; making it their ordinary Practice to disturb them in their Sermons.† They denyed the Trinity; they

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* "It would be difficult perhaps for Mr. Burghall to point out "where the Quakers harmonize with the Papists. But this was only "consequential of their continual Reproaches of the Church of "England, to vilify it, as papistical, knowing that was the ready Way "to tumultuate the People against it. In Fact the Papists have "nothing common with them; but being reprobated by that Vermin, "who spawned forth as many Sects & Heresies in these Years of their "Confusion, as a Toad does in April; & among the Rest the Quakers, "who are a Branch of the Anabaptists. What he says of them in his "next Paragraph, at the Beginning, may, without Injustice be applyed "to themselves, tho' it agrees more especially to the Quakers." (*Cole.*)

† It must be remembered that persons who rose and spoke at the weekly Preachings and Lectures, which had been established by the Puritans for the promotion of religious teaching and discipline, were in perfect order with the proceedings; and also, that the Presbyterian parish clergy everywhere maligned and hated the new sect.

[1655] denyed the Scriptures to be the Word of God*; they said, that they had no Sin.

John Burroughs of Calvely, in Bunbury Parish having been ever given to Drunkeness, on the Lord's Day, as well as on other, was found dead in his Chamber on a Munday morning, of a surfeit taken the Lord's Day before.

[1656] 1656. Sept: 17. the Protector called a Parliament. Many Members were excepted against: some in the Country before they went up; others after they came thither.

The English got a great Victory of the Spaniard by Sea, for which a publick Thanksgiving Day was kept. Nov: 5.

[1657] 1657. A great Feaver raged in the Kingdom.

Margaret Hutchinson of Acton Parish, being questioned for slandering my eldest Son, she took Drink & drunk it, wishing it might be her last, if ever shee wronged him. It pleased God shee sickened that very Day of a Feaver, which grew so violent, that, according to her own Execration, she never drunk more, but what was on Posset. ☜

[1657-8] Jan: 20. the Parliament began to sit again; but was quickly dissolved by the L[d] Protector: and so the great Expectation of crowning him King, was frustrated, many Great ones in the Army being against it.

[1658] 1658. Jun: 8. Sir Henry Slingsby, & D[r]. Hewit† were beheaded on Tower Hill, for attempting to bring in the King, in a hostile Way. Many others were discovered, & found guilty by an High Court of Justice, authorized by the Protector for that Purpose.

Jun: 3, a Whale was killed near Greenwich, 58 Foot long, 12 Foot high, 14 Foot broad, 2 Foot between the Eyes.

The Protector being in League with France, sent over a considerable Company of Souldiers, both Horse & Foot, who afforded great Assistance to the French King. They took in Mardike; & afterwards helped much to the taking of Dunkirk, which, by Composition, fell to the English, & was, till of late, in their Pos-

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* Noisy fanatics these were who probably professed to believe in the spirit, but not in the letter, of Scripture.

† For an account of Dr. John Hewitt, a native of Eccles, near Manchester, see Earwaker's *Local Gleanings*, vol. i., pp. 267 and 270.

session. Sep: 3. The Lord Protector dyed, being the same Day of the Month on which he won those 2 famous Battles, Dunbarr & Worcester. Before his Death hee nominated his eldest Son Richard to be Protector after him. [1658]

A Parliament was called by the new Protector, & sate Jan: 27. [1659]

1659. The Parliament was dissolved by the L^d^ Protector Apr: 29, the Army overawing both it, & him, because they had voted some Things to the infringing of the Power of the Army & their present Meetings in London, in Opposition to the Parliament, Whereupon some of the Long Parliament (being then in & about London,) were called by the Army to Westminster; & sate & voted as a Parliament.

This year Sir George Booth,* with many other Cheshire Gentlemen, Sir Tho: Middleton, with many in Wales, & Coll: Holland with many in Lancashire, raised Forces against the Parliament, & Army, but were defeated by Lambert at Winnington Bridge, near Northwich Aug: 19. Many were taken Prisoners, but few slain. After which Defeat many were Sequestrated.

The Army again dissolved the Parliament imediately after Lambert came up to London, after his Victory in Cheshire, because they refused to make more Head-Comission Officers, at the Demand of the Army, & had threatened to imprison Lambert. Whereupon the Army drew up to Westminster, & besieged the Parliament, which was guarded by Coll: Morley's & Coll: Walton's Regiments. They stood in Battalio a good Part of the Day: at last, upon Comand of the Counsell of State, the 2 Regiments drew off, & the Parliament had Leave to play.

Upon this the Army appointed a new Kind of Government, called a Comittee of Safety. Whereupon sending to Monk, Generall of the Forces in Scotland, to desire his Concurrence with them, in this new Way, hee refused, & stood upon his own

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* This was the Cheshire royalist rising in favour of the restoration of Charles II.; of which event Philip Henry, of Worthenbury, wrote—"the country people called it, not the *Cheshire Rising* but the *Cheshire Race*." (*Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry*, edited by M. H. Lee, 1882, page 69.)

59] Defence, against the English Army, who, under the Conduct of Lambert, imediately marcht down into the North, Monk being in Reddiness, with great Forces to oppose them. But a Treaty was held at Westminster, & an Agreement was made between them: Coll: Wilks, Coll: Clobery, & Major Knight being sent from Monk about that Buisness. But this Agreement came to Nothing: for the People every where were discontented. The Lord Mayor of London stood upon his Guard against Fleetwood: & many Places revolted, & shook off the Army's Yoke: as Portsmouth, Colchester, the Isle of Wight, Coventry, Stafford. Dublin Castle was surprized, & taken & most of Ireland revolted. The Lord Fairfax, with many other Gentlemen in Yorkshire, opposed Lambert's Forces, & seized upon York, & secured it for the Parliament. Lambert's Army leaves him, & hee is forct to submit to the Parliament, for which Monk & Fairfax declare; & to that End write their Letters. Yet the People were discontented everywhere: because the old secluded Members, who were forcibly driven out [in] 1648 by the Army, being by far the greater Number, were not admitted to sit; & because an Oath must be taken of all the Members to renounce utterly the Family of the Stuarts. Hereupon Generall Monk, at the Instigation of the Parliament (called by way of Derision the Rump) entered London, breaking down their Gates, removing their Posts & chains, taking divers cheif Men Prisoners, besides Apprentices, who were stript & hardly used; to the great Distaste both of the City, & the whole Nation: but soon after, viz: Tuesday, Febr: 2, were brought in the Secluded Members into the House, who voted down, what the Rump had done formerly, & made Monk Generall of the Forces in all the 3 Nations, Waller Lieutenant Generall, & Rosciter Major Generall. Whereupon divers of the Rump departed the House in great Discontent: among whom was Sir Arthur Haslerig. The Cheshire Gentlemen that were imprisoned for the late Insurrection were released, Lambert proclaimed Traitor, endeavouring to raise new Troubles, was defeated by Ingoldsby, brought Prisoner to London, broke out of the Tower, but was again taken, & comitted to close Prison.

60] 1660. Things continuing in this distracted Condition, an Agreement was made between Charles the 2[d] then at Breda, & the Parliament, which began to sit at Westminster, Apr: 25. The

King was called in, & proclaimed with great Joy through all the three Nations. [1660]

About the latter End of September dyed the King's Brother, Henry Duke of Glocester, a very hopefull Prince. In the December after, the Princess of Orange dyed here in England, coming over to see the King her Brother. ☜

Jan: 6. being Sabbath Day, at Midnight, the Phanaticks, (as they were called,) 5th Monarchy Men, Anabaptists, & such Like rose in a tumultuous Manner, tho' but a few in Number, & being armed on Horseback, kill'd & wounded many in London: but they were beaten back & disperst by the Lord Mayor. And on Wednesday & Thursday they made new Assaults, but were defeated.* [1660-1]

Great Storms & Winds which wafted over two little Children from Ireland to Leverpool, in a small Boat, without any Harm: whereas many other greater Vessels were cast away.

March 16. Two Quakers came to disturb me in the publick Congregation. God so ordered my Studies, that the Sermon was pat against them. They had Liberty to speak, & were answered: at last, one of them denyed the S. S. to be the Word of God: whereupon they were, with Shame, thrust out of the Congregation. ☜ *

The King was crowned April 28, with such Pomp & Magnificence, as can hardly be expressed. [1661]

He called a Parliament, which began to sit about May 28. He caused them to confirm his Act of Grace, or free Pardon. Bishops are now restored. The Covenant burnt by the Hands of the Comon Hangman, & made the Matter of Reproach & Scorn in many Places.

June 9. Two Quakers came into the Church with Lanthorn & Candle, while I was preaching. Their Design was, as they confesst to have lighted a Sheet of Paper, which they had, as a Sign of God's Anger burning against us. ☜

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* These paragraphs afford a glimpse of the fierce temper of the times that produced disorder alike in city and village throughout the land.

[1661] Some remarkable Passages happened in the Coming down of Bp. Walton from London to Chester, & while he was there. First, his Coach was overturned by the Way, & his Wife's Face sore bruised by a Fall out of it. 2. Two of those Troops of Horse that came to conduct him (viz: Sir John Booth's & Philip Egerton's) upon Tilston Heath, fell at Odds about Precedency, & were reddy for Blows. 3. Coming thro' Torporley, & the Bells ringing for him, a Man was almost kill'd with the Stroke of a Bell. 4. Capn Cholmly's Wife going to visit him with a Present, fell & broke her Arm. 5. A Man coming to Chester to congratulate him, &, as was reported, to complain of some Body, fell down before him suddenly, & dyed: which much amazed, & affrighted him. 6. Dr. Winter, a learned & pious Divine, being silenced by him, told him to his Face, He would have no Comfort for so doing, when he must appear before Christ: which was not long after. Within a While his Chaplain dyed also.*

[1662] 1662. July 30. great Thunder & lightninge & a great Storm of Hail. Some Hailstones were 6 or 7 Inches about. Ralph Witney of Bartomley, (as was reported by one that heard him speak it,) took up one 11 Inches about. Some had the Resemblance of Men & Women upon them; some of other Things.†

The self same Day, Dr. Hall, Bp. of Chester, came into the City, & a great Clap of Thunder happened to be just at his Entrance into the Pallace.‡

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* "One must have a great Turn & Disposition to make any of these "Accidents Judgments; Dr. Winter's Case shews only his own Impu- "dence, & Mr. Burghall's Concern that the Bp. in Consequence of the "Parliament's Care, took all proper and necessary Methods to prevent "the like Freaks of these People from putting all Things again into "their beloved Confusion. All they did could not prevent it: as is "plain from their Attempts of the same Sort from that time to this, "March 11, 1778." (*Cole.*)

† "Here was fine Scope for a Judgment; and no Doubt it was "brought in as such: the next Article explains it. The Men & "Women meant without all Doubt the Bps & their Wives Coming to "Chester. This did not prevent Bp Peploe, no more than Bp Keene "from doing the same." (*Cole.*)

‡ "Wonderfull indeed!" (*Cole.*)

August 24. The severe Act of Uniformity was put in Execution. [1662]
Many Ministers were outed every where, through the Kingdom, that would not conform: & among the Rest myself. I preacht that Day two Sermons, one at Wrenbury, t'other at Acton, 2 Cor: 13.11, Finally Brethren, Farewell.*

October 3. There came an Order from the A$^{Bp}$. of York to suspend mee utterly from the Vicarage of Acton: & Oct. 26 M$^{r}$. Kirks, who had been Chaplain at Woodhey, was presented, and had Institution & Induction from the B$^{p}$. of Chester, which would not serve: but hee had it again from the A$^{Bp}$. of York. He took

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* "No Doubt he was pathetic upon his final Farewell, there is no "Mention of his Incumbency at Acton in Walker, or of his Ejection "from thence: Calamy's List is a more proper Station for him: I will "look for him. There are 2 Accounts of this M$^{r}$. Burghall in Calamy's "Edition of Baxter's Life, Vol: 2, p. 128, & Vol: 3. p. 171. in both "which Places, this Work is recorded with Esteem & Commendation. "We have seen what it is, & think it worthy one of the Baxterian "Heroes. Mr. Kirks is there said to have encouraged his Noncon-"formity in Order to succeed him: but this Calamy denies, & in his "Way, mentions many Things of him, not worthy the Notice of any "one but a Presbyterian. He died Dec: 8, 1665. No Mention where "he was educated. Calamy says he was Schole Master at Banbury "before the War. He mistakes it for Bunbury, I make no doubt. As "Mr. Palmer of Hackney, is at this Instant republishing this Book of "Calamy's, with Assistance of the Presbyterian Ministers, on whom "he calls in the Public Prints for their Aid in this Matter, it is a Pity "he has not a Sight of this wonderful Performance; which I only "transcribed to shew their Bigotry and Folly, and which they look on "with devout Admiration. This Republication is on Account of the "high Spirits they are now in, on Account of the Favour they have "met with among our Clerical Petitioners, the Success of the Rebels "in America, their Abettors in both Houses, the great self creating "Doctor Price, Priestly, supported by the E. of Shelburn, to whom "he is Chaplain, Kippis now publishing a new Edition of the Bio-"graphia Britannica, which is to be degraded and disgraced by "Calamy's Worthies. He applied to me for my Assistance: but I "roundly gave him to understand, that I would not be concerned with "such Collegues. For an account of D$^{r}$. Sam: Winter, see Calamy's "Baxter. Vol: 1, p. 544, 545, 546, & Vol: 4, p. 721. He had been "educated in Queen's College Cambridge, and made by his Faction "about 1651 Provost of Trinity College in Dublin." (*Cole.*)

[1662] Possession of the Church Nov: 10, the Day before Martinmas, when all the Tythe Calves in Wrenbury & Acton (which was the Substance of my Means) were due to mee & were wont to be gathered at that Time: & yet I had but one-Half of the Calves in Acton: he had all the Rest, tho' I had taken the Pains the whole Year before. This Year there were many strange Prodigies. ☜

In Jan: came forth a Declaration from the King, promising some Liberty to tender Consciences next Sessions of Parliament. But it came to Nothing.

[1663] 1663. Not long after the Queen's Coming to London, she fell dangerously sick, insomuch that it was reported in divers Parts of the Kingdom, that she was dead. But she recovered.*

Written by Edward Burghall
Minister of Acton.

[End of Burghall's "Providence Improved."]

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* "What a Grief that she did recover! as it would have made a "fine Finish to his Providence improved."

"Finished this Superabundant tedious Transcript, this 11 of March "1778, at Milton near Cambridge." (*Cole.*)

# APPENDIX A.

*The rising in Somersetshire.* Aug. 1642. Page 22.

BURGHALL does not give the exact date of certain Cavaliers at *Wells* plundering the town of *Shepton Mallet.* But a small 4to, pp. 8, Printed by order of Parliament, contains a letter, dated *Freshford, Aug.* 7, 1642, written by *John Aisle,* M.P., and entitled, "A Perfect Relation of All the passages and proceedings of the Marquesse *Hartford,* the Lord *Paulet,* and the rest of the Cavelleers that were with them in *Wels.* With the valiant resolution and behaviour of the Trained-bands and other Inhabitants of those parts, for the defence of themselves, the King and *Parliament.* As also what helpe was sent from *Bristoll* to their ayd: with the manner of the Lords and Cavaleers running out of the Towne. And many other things very remarkable. As it was sent in a Letter from the Committee in *Summersetshire* to both houses of Parliament . . . 12 August 1642, *London.* Printed for *Joseph Hunscot* and *J. Wright.*"

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# APPENDIX B.

*Lord Grandison's coming to Nantwich.* Sep. 21, 1642. See page 24.

IN Phillips' "*Civil War in Wales and the Marches,*" vol. ii., pp. 10-19, will be found several reprinted letters and pamphlets relating to the disturbed state of the counties of Chester and Salop in the month of September, 1642.

To these, and to the opening paragraphs of Burghall and Malbon's Account, may be added the following :—

*Namptwich, September* 24th.—"The Commissioners of Array in *Cheshire*, met upon *Monday* last, [Sept 20] at a house on the forest of *Delamere*, and as we hear, they combined together by an oath of secrecy, to plunder and disarm the town of *Namptwich*, which they have done by the assistance of about fifteen horse which came from *Drayton* to meet them, under the command of the *Lord Grandison*. The inhabitants of the Town, having certain intelligence of what they intended against them, presently assembled in consultation to take a course for securing of themselves, and Mr. *Clutton*,* an active Gentleman, was resolved to fight it out, and disarmed the under-sheriff's man, who came from the Cavaliers, who would not hear talk of any parley, but gave express command to the townsmen of his own company to give fire as soon as the Cavaliers shall come within shot, and not to admit of any parley; but other gentlemen of the Town persuaded the contrary, lest it should be fired, whereupon they came to parley.

The *Lord Grandison* and the *Lord Cholmondeley* engaged their honours that no man should be hurt, nor any arms or goods taken, but only desired that the arms might be laid up in the Church, or the Town Hall, till they heard further from the King; whereupon the Town was given up; but they dishonourably broke their engagement, seizing upon their arms, so soon as they entered the Town, searching up and down for arms, and men; threatening many, pursuing them that fled. Many took the river to escape them; they stopped the passages of the Town, to be revenged of them within it; rid up and down the gardens to find them out, and imprisoned many. Then they plundered the Town and all the country, which now lies open for a prey to a perfidious enemy, conducted and strengthened by them of the Array, to all such places where they have been most serviceable

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* Probably *Richard Clutton*, gent., a nephew, by marriage, of Thomas Malbon. He occurs as a Captain, and was buried at Nantwich, Sept. 6, 1643.

to King and Parliament. If speedy help come not, we shall be utterly desolate. This intelligence is from many eye witnesses."

"The *Earl of Rivers* hath five pieces of ordnance, ten barrels of powder, and sixty bullets landed at *Frodsham*, September 17. The *Lord Strange*, September 19, brought two thousand men and two Troops of Horse to *Warrington*, and are there billeted for 8 days, and hath 11 pieces of ordnance; besides 'tis reported he expects three thousand men out of *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Northumberland*." (From "The *Latest Remarkable Truths* from *Worcester*, *Chester*, *Salop*, *Warwick*, *Stafford*, *Somerset*, *Devon*, *Yorke* and *Lincolne* Counties. Most of which were sent up Poste from judicious men, of purpose to be printed. *London:* Printed for *T. Vnderhill*, 1642.")

The above is also printed in Nehemiah Wallington's *Historical Notices*, vol. ii., pp. 97-8.

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# APPENDIX C.

THE following "letters," &c., from original documents in the possession of the late Thos. J. Phillips-Jodrell, Esq. (who died Sept. 3, 1889), relate to Edmund Jodrell, Esq., of Yeardsley and Taxal, co. Chester, who was arrested and imprisoned for some time at Stockport and at Nantwich, besides being fined and plundered as a suspicious person, or one who wished to stand aloof from both parties during the troublous years of the War. These documents are particularly interesting as illustrating the experiences and difficulties of country squires in those evil times. I am indebted to Mrs. Sophia A. Cotton, of London, for careful copies of these family records. For an account of the Jodrell family, see Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., pp. 533-537.

1.

*Letter from Sir George Booth, of Dunham Massey, Kt., (then aged 76 yrs.,) to his grandson George (afterwards Baron Delamere) respecting Mr. Jodrell's providing an armed soldier.* 1642, 17 *Car. I.* [*? November.*]

"George,

The importunity of my very good ffreind Mr. Jodrell ocasions these lynes in his behalfe, that whereas his man that carryes his armes a Pyke man is nowe not in redines—yo$^{u}$ would excuse him at this tyme who the next or any other will bee redye to send his men or contribute in money where neede requires, and at this p$^{r}$sent for y$^{r}$ satisfaccion & content is willinge (as I here) to give yo$^{u}$ 5 or 6$^{li}$ wherefore yo$^{u}$ may doe well to let some of yo$^{re}$ Tennants & namely Dennies Bockinge to serve for my freind & bere yo$^{u}$ his charges y$^{t}$ I cannot p'swade to buye a Muskett or any weapons for service, but hee comes to yo$^{u}$ on Mare backe w$^{th}$ a Cogell, to the end yo$^{u}$ may send him backe & aske this bearer whether his M$^{r}$ will furnish such man & yo$^{u}$ p'cure sōth [?] a Muskett, or a pyke at this tyme. I would desire yo$^{u}$ likewise to send for Geo. Hollinworth & make him serve w$^{th}$ a Muskett that doth live soe Idly & leawdly, and deny not my request for my friend at this tyme who will respect you in a greater matter. And I pray you hasten to see W$^{m}$. & sett . . . . both before & behynde yo$^{u}$ for feare of the worst & thus prayinge God to blesse yo$^{u}$

I rest

Yo$^{r}$ Loveinge Granfather

G. Booth.

2.

"Acquittance from George Booth and others to Edmond Jodrell for 20$^{li}$. the ffirst day of December 1642.

1642
17 *Car. I.*

Received the day and yeere above written from Edmond Jodrell of Yeardsley in the County of Chester Esq$^{re}$ the sume of Twenty pounds lawfull English money ffor & toward the defrayinge of the charge expended by the deputye Leiu-Tenants nominated by

the Parliam[t] in takinge up Armes & treyninge accordinge to the Order of the Milicia for the safetye & settlinge the peace of the s[d] County . . . . . 20[li]

GEO. BOOTHE
HENRY BROOKE
W[M]. MARBURY
HENRY MANWARINGE.

3.

*Letter from the Council of War to Edmund Jodrell urging him to advance money for the Parliament's use*, 1642, 17 *Car. I.*

"S[r]

Let us request yo[u] to take into consideracon these tymes & to shew yo[r] selfe forwards & willinge in the advanceinge of money (accordinge to others of yo[r] like ability) upon the publick fayth for y[e] use of y[e] Kinge & Parliam[t] for you are esteemed in the Contrey to be a man very able & therefore it is thought fitt by us & y[e] rest of y[e] Deputye Leiuts. y[t] yo[u] should advance in this service the sume of £100. o. o w[ch] we desire may come cheerefully & willingly from yo[u] as it hath come from divers others otherwise y[t] course wilbe used w[ch] will not any way tend to yo[r] good soe w[th] o[r] respects to yo[u] remembred I rest

Yo[r] Loveinge frendes

G. BOOTHE
HENRY MANWARINGE
ROBERT DUCKENFIELD."

"Knutsford
Decem. 9
1642"

[Endorsed] "To o[r] loveing frend Edmond Jodrell at his house Eardsley [Yeardsley] these p'sent—"

4.

*Summons from Thomas Legh [of Adlington, co. Chester] to Edmund Jodrell to attend the trained bands with horse and armes*," 1642, 17 *Car. I.*

"To Edmond Joydrell of Yerdesley Esq[r]."

"By vertue of a speciall warrant from his Ma[tie] I am to sumon

all the Trayned & Freehould bands of this Hundred of Macclesfeld to appeare before mee at Adlington upon Thursday next by ten of the clocke ꝑticular notice is taken of yo^r^ disaffeccon of his Ma^ties^ Comands wherefore I will & require that you appeare at the tyme & place before menc̄oned w^th^ yo^r^ horse & ffoote in compleate armes as you stand charged for his Ma^ties^ service, as you will answere yo^r^ delinquencie at yo^r^ utmost pill. [peril]. Given at Adlington the 20th of December 1642

Yo^r^ very Loveinge ffriend

THOMAS LEGH.

5.

*Letter from the Council of War requesting Mr. Jodrell to advance Money for the use of the Parliamentary Army, &c.*, 1642, 17 *Car. I.*

"Mr. Jothrill

Wee have formerly write unto you that you would advance a hundred pounds upon the parlament p'posisiones towards the defrayinge of the excessive charge that they [the] Countrey [is] put to at our last risinge in Armes, but as yet have receved no difynitife Answer. Wee not doutinge of your forwardness and ꝑpenciveness shall forbaire further to press yo^u^ onely desiringe yo^r^ answer to this may bee sent to Dunham upon Thursday next from whence it will be convayed to us, that so wee may know whether to send to receve your moneys, thus in hast wee rest

Your faithfull lo: friends

GEO. BOOTHE
HENRY BROOKE
WM. MARBURY
HENRY MANWARINGE

Northwich Jan: 3
1642[-3].

6.

*Letter from the Council of War to Mr. Jodrell demanding a contribution of £300.* 1642, 17 *Car. I.*

"Wee hope you are not Insensible of the Condic̄on wherein

this Countrey now standeth being subject to ruine and spoile by divers ill affected persones to the Peace and preservac̄on of the Kinges majestie the parliam^t and Kingdome ffor the suppressinge whereof and settling the peace & quiett of the said Countrey wee have received instruc̄ons from the parliam^t. This is a worke w^ch cannot be maintained without a supplie of moneyes from the Countrey. It is expected (and is most just) that everie one (whose perticuler safetie peace & preservac̄on is involved in the publique) should contribute accordinge to theire abilities. Wee hope yo^u will not be remisse and backward in the advanceinge this worke. Wee have thought good to propounde unto you three hundreth pounds upon the Parliamentes propositions w^ch is a lesse proporc̄on for you then others have alreadie contributed with respecte to theire estates. It is a thinge that must be done, the welfare of the Comonwealth callinge for itt. Wee hope wee shall not neede to presse yo^u herein as wee doe others beinge confident your owne goodnes and discrecon will excite you sufficientlie. The speedie bringing in whereof will adde to our assistance and supplie. And soe not doubtinge but you will forthwith accomodate the Comonwealth herein wee will conclude resting

S^r

Yo^r verie faithfull ffriends

WILL. BRERETON
HENRY BROOKE
WM. MARBURY
HENRY MANWARINGE
WILL. EDWARDES
ROBT. DUCKENFIELD
EDWARD HYDE
THOMAS CROXTON."

"Namptwiche this present
11th Feb. 1642"[-3].

[Endorsed] "To the Right Wor^ll
our much respected friend
Mr. Jodrell Esquire these Present
Speed

7.

*Draft of Mr. Jodrells Letter excusing himself from further contributions. Feb.* 1642[-3], 17 *Car. I.*

"Gentlemen

I have received yo$^{r}$ lre. of the 11th of this instant uppon w$^{ch}$ ocasion I received a former [letter] lately, wherein I was soe willinge to advance the cause yo$^{u}$ menshon, that as form'ly I had donne, I would send you in the strength I stood charged with uppon just occasion, at my owne charge in compleat Armes, and towards the defreyinge of the chargs expended by the deputye Lieutennants I sent in 20$^{li}$ not unknowne to some of yo$^{u}$, wherein I thought I had given good satisfaccion exceedinge many of my qualitye. And this unexpected demand soe suddenlye ensuinge bringes mee into an admiracion that my late expressinge of redines to meyneteyne soe good cause, should be noe better regarded. And if I may speake without offence the great demand made pceeds not from yo$^{u}$ or any of yo$^{u}$, but some misinformacion given yo$^{u}$ by such as are not capable of the charge of a ffamilye, as I knowe many of you are. And althoughe it may bee sayde I have money in the countrey to dispose, the same neither is nor can bee w$^{th}$in my power & especcially as the tymes nowe are untill I can legallye come thereby, therefore what is not in my power I hope you will not expect. And to complye w$^{th}$ yo$^{u}$ in the present service, there shall non bee more redye to the utmost of his power then he that desires to remayne

Yo$^{r}$ very respectfull freind.

8.

*Sir George Booth's Letter on behalf of his friend Mr. Jodrell.*

"Sir

I am ocasioned at this tyme to write unto you in the behalfe of my good ffreind Mr. Jodrell of Yeardesley whoe hath beene w$^{th}$ me this daie & acquainted me w$^{th}$ a letter to him directed from you & others wherein you demand such a sum of money as he thought very unreasonable consideringe his former redienesse & willinge minde to contribute & assist you in the p'sent service wherefore I thought good to desire you to heare him speake for him selfe. And if hit give you not satisfaccon

therein lett me know yo^r^ reasonable demands & if you please to leave him to me & my Gransonn to order the matter I will endeavour to p'swade him to doe what may bee thought ffittinge accordinge to the p'porcion of other men of his ranke & quallitye. And soe referringe the p'mises to yo^r^ consideracon I comitte you to God & will ev' remayne

To you as unto

G. BOOTH.

Ashton the 16th
Febr' 1642[-3]

9.

*Mr. Jodrell committed to prison.*

"March 21st 1642[-3] It is ordered this day by the Comittee that Mr. Jodrell who is prisoner at Stopport [Stockport] shall be safely conveyed to the Town of Namptwich and there be delivered into the Custody of the provost Marshall by him to be placed among the other Gentlemen prisoners. There to remaine untill he have Compounded w^th^ the Comittee.

HENRY BROOKE
HENRY MANWARINGE
W^m^ MARBURY
THOMAS CROXTON"

10.

Yeardsley House was then plundered; the list of goods taken being as follows:—

| April 28, 1643. | *li* | *s* | *d* |
|---|---|---|---|
| One stoned horse ... ... ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| One Nagg ... ... ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| One Muskett one hed peece and bandeleere ... ... ... ... | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Two birdeinge peeces ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| ffower longe bowes ... ... ... | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Three sheaves of Arrowes ... ... | — | — | — |
| Three watch bills ... ... ... | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| A Shute of Arrmor complait ... ... | 2 | 13 | 4 |
| One Drum ... ... ... ... | 1 | 6 | 8 |

| | li | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| A quiver of the old fashion ... ... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| One bull hyde dressed buffe like ... | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| Two buffe Coates ... ... ... | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| Three dressed backe skins ... ... | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| Two Rydinge Coates of broade cloath the one sett with plate buttens ... | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| One silver beere boule ... ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| One lytell wyne cupp silver ... ... | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| One silver cann ... ... ... ... | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| One greate silver guilt salte ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| One silver porringer ... ... ... | 1 | 13 | 4 |
| Six silver spoones ... ... ... | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Two large silver claspes for one coate ... | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| Three pounds sixteene in readie money | 3 | 16 | 0 |
| One Rought goulde & silver belte ... | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| One paire of goulde hangers & a girdell<br>One other paire of wrought hangers & a girdell, leather sowerd belt | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Two guilt Rapiers ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Three Sowerds ... ... ... ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Two great saddells ... ... ... | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| ffowere hackney saddells & horse clothes | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| bridells w$^{th}$ bitts & snafells, one sadell cloath ... ... ... ... | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| One howseing cloath ... ... ... | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| One cheayne Musroule [?] ... ... | | | |
| One briddle bitt & buckell cut from a woman's bridle ... ... ... | | | |
| Two tabbs ffrom a pilliam [pillion] ... | | | |
| Three p[air] of greate brass stirropps | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Two wonties & one over lay ... ... | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| Bridell bitts and snaffells ... ... | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| One cross boe & 6 arrowes ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dagers 10$^{s.}$ & one shyve 2$^{s.}$ 6$^{d.}$ ... ... | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| One paire of Rich Inlaid spurrs... ... | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Five slippings of ffine fflaxen yarne ... | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| One hand Towell and 5 table napkins | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| One booke ... ... ... ... | 0 | 0 | 8 |

| | li | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| One pair of Gloves ... ... ... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| One fflaske for a Dragooner ... ... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| One pair of Bullet moulds ... ... | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| A pistell Barrell ... ... ... ... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Oates that weare winoed; Oates in the chafe Ricke spoyled & eten w$^{th}$ horses ... ... ... ... | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Heay spoyled w$^{th}$ horses and eaten ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| ffoure loades of hay fforth of Echells ... took in mault ... ... ... ... | | | |
| One pistell barell ... ... ... ... | | | |
| [Total] ... | £97 | 18 | 2 |

These goods according to my Duty & Chardg I have taken into my Custodie which shall be forthwith delivered to my Colonell and if any other to the said valew w$^{ch}$ may be chardged on my selfe or any soldier

"Aprill 28$^{th}$ 1643

HN. ZANCHIE*
C. LEAT"

II.

*Petition of Mr. Edmund Jodrell.*

*"To the Hob$^{le}$ S$^{r}$ George Boothe Knt. & Baronet, S$^{r}$ William Brereton Baronett, George Boothe, Henry Maynwareinge and Robert Duckenfield Esq$^{rs}$ and to the Capteynes Counsell of Warr & Committees att Namptwyche or elswhere.*

The humble peticon of M$^{r}$ Edmund Jodrell

Sheweth that the peticoner hath for more than eighteene weeks nowe past in observance of the Comand leyd upon him continued a prisoner in Stockport In w$^{ch}$ tyme his howse att Yeardesley hath been entered in to and his goods of the full value of a hundred & fiftie pounds att the least taken & caryed awaie for what cause or offence he yett knoweth not ffor he

---

* Captain Zanchie, or Sankey, occurs as one of Col. Brereton's officers. He was taken prisoner at Hanmer, on June 20th, 1643.

p'testeth that to his knowledge he is not conscious to him selfe of anie disobedience to anie p'posic̄ons or orders of the high & ho^ble^ co^r^te of Parliament concerninge hym selfe. But that after they weare made knowne unto him he hath from tyme to tyme paid p'posic̄on money equall or above to others of his ranke & facultie & sent & maynteyned soldiers boath horse & foote accordinge as he hath been appointed. Onlie he confesseth that he hath forborne to assent to paie a ffurther great sum of money demanded of him w^ch^ he did in respect of what he hath paid & of that w^ch^ hath been taken from him. And for that he is ſarr under such abilitie as is by some supposed & alledged. Att w^ch^ for the reasons aforesaid he entreateth that noe offence may be taken.

The p'misses considered his humble request is that you wilbe pleased to discharge him of his p'sent Imprisonm^nt^ & graunt him libertie to goe home to his wyfe & children boeth for his healths sake w^ch^ he feeleth decayinge & also to see the manageing of his owne affaires w^ch^ by his absence grow out of order to his great losse & Impoverishment. And he will att all tymes rest readie to attend you when and where you shall please to appoint him & thinke him selfe much bounden and beholdinge for this curtesie."

12.

*Draft of a Petition of Edmund Jodrell to Sir William Brereton*
[*? Sept.* 1643]

"To the honora^ble^ Sir Williā Brereton Generall, the humble peticōn off Edmund Jodrell Esq^r^"

"Sheweth

That yo^r^ petitioner is not a man off soe greate estate as some report him. Is willinge to subscribe to the ꝑpositions of Parliament, and adde to that hee hath alreadie done iff it soe seeme meete to the Committee uppon the hearinge off what his estate is, and what hee hath done alreadie.

His humble request is therefore that hee may not bee detained ffrom his house (from w^ch^ hee hath alreadie beene, thertie weekes or thereabouts) but have libertie to returne home to see his wiffe & children, & have a tyme appoynted ffor his appearance

beffore the Committe against w^ch^ tyme hee will prepare himselfe to bee responsable to theire demands & y^r^ petitioner will humbly pray &c"

13.

*An acknowledgment on the part of Sir William Brereton* [? Sept., 1643].

"If any Reasonable Sume will be paid w^ch^ Mr. Jodrell is well able & ought by the Ordinance of Parliam^t^ to advance: That w^ch^ is Desired will bee willingely ascented unto by

WILL. BRERETON."

14.

*Draft of a Letter from Mr. Edmund Jodrell to M^r^ Venables.*

"Sir

Accordinge to yo^r^ pmis att o^r^ partinge I expected you would bee pleased to deliver my peticon I delivered unto yo^u^ to Sir William Brereton & have returned the ansor hee pleased to give unto itt, but hearinge nothinge ffrom you I thought meete to write a lyne or two desiringe that you will not ffaile to lett mee heare w^th^ all speade what yo^u^ have done hearein which I shall acknowledg as a ffafore [favour] and bee readie to requite itt if it bee in the power of him who is

Your Lovinge ffrend

EDMUND JODRELL

"Stafford the 28
of September
1643."

"This is a copie of the letter I sent Mr. Venables."

15.

*Order from the Council of War to release Edmund Jodrell Esq^r^. from Stafford Gaol.*

"29 Octob. 1643

Whereas Edmund Jodrell of Yeardsley in the Countie of Chester Esq^r^ was by S^r^ William Brereton sent as a prisoner to Stafford for non payment of the proposicon monies imposed upon him and hath now given satisfaccon to the said W^m^ Brereton for the

same It is therefore by him the s[d] S[r] William Brereton & the Comittee at Stafford ordered that the said M[r] Jodrell shall be forthwith enlarged from his imprisonmen[t]

HE: AGARDE
*Cler: Concil.*"

16.

*Mr. Jodrell's acquittance for £50 1643, 19 Car I.*

"Received and had from Edmond Jodrell Esq[re] by the hand of Robert Gregge gent. the some of ffiftie pounds beinge apointed to be paid unto me by S[r] W[m] Brereton Baronett towards satisfaccon of the service at Wem and in Shropshire I say Rec. the 7[th] daye of November 1643.

RICH: GREIG."

17.

*Order from the Council of War for the soldiers to forbear from plundering, addressed to Edmund Jodrell Esq[r] 1643, 19 Car. I.*

"Jan: 16° 1643[-4].

Forasmuch as great complaint is made unto us of the outrages pilfering and plundring that many Capts. Offic[rs] & souldiers (who yet ptend themselves to be & stand for the service of the King & pliam[t]) do make & use contrary to a former ord[r] of the Councell & Comittee at Namptw[ch] straightly forbiding such courses. Itt is therefore this day Ordered & appoynted y[t] ev'ie Capt Lieut. Offic[r] comon souldier & other pson whatsoeu' upon sight of this ord[r] or Coppie thereof shall forbear to seize upon the pson of any man or plunder or take the goods of any upon any ptence whatsoeu' (w[th]out shewing speciall ord[r] for the same) upon payne of being p'ceeded against by martiall Lawe

WILL BRERETON
G. BOOTH
ROBT. DUCKENFEILD.
EDWARD HYDE
HEN: BRADSHAW"

"ffor Edward Joydrell
Esquire *vera Copia.*
*test:* Ro. Strely"

18.

*Letters of Protection from Sir Thomas Fairfax for Edmund Jodrell Esq^r.* 1643[-4], 19 *Car. I.*

"To all Collonals Officers & souldiers in ye Army for the King & Parlam^t

"Forasmuch as Edmund Joydrell of Yeardsley w^th^in y^e County of Chester Esq^r hath paid a sume of Money according to the propositions of Parlam^t These are therefore to will & require yo^u not to molest or trouble the body or goods of the said M^r Joydrell unles you have a speciall warr^t to the contrary. Given und^r my hand this xvj^th^ of Febr. 1643[-4]

THO: FAIRFAX"

"22^th^ of Febr. 1643[-4]

"Whereas I am credibly informed that some of the soldiers and Officers under the Command of Col. Bright in respect of there greate necessity and want of horse since the makeing of this my ptection have taken fower of the horses of M^r Joydrell. I do hereby order and appointe that the Constable with the assistance of two or three indifferent men within the Constablery of Yardesley shall apprise [value] the s^d horses and that the prices thereof shall be equally borne by the said M^r Joydrell and the rest of the said Inhabitants within that Constablery

THO: FAIRFAX."

19.

*Col. John Bright's letter refusing to return horses with complaints against M^r. Jodrell.* 1643, 19 *Car. I.*

"Honored S^r.

The ability and the sufferings of the Gentl: whom you move for is better knowne to you than to myselfe but his affections to the cause as farr (as I cann learne) hath neither been manifested by his free contribucon or suffering but what he hath assisted was by constraynt and compulsion and noe voluntary act, S^r I cannot possibly returne any of the three horses which was taken fro[m] him without prejudice to ye service which I know you are so farr from desireing itt as yow have endeavoured ye contrary and have given a sufficient testimonie to all the world of your affections to the cause Neither is he so straitened to gett

his seed into the ground as hee informes yow having a dozen horse att this present. Now that I have acquainted you with the truth and the necessities my men wilbe forced to if they bee restored I hope you will have me excused in truly stating your request my selfe and that horse (which properly belongs to mee) is wholly att your command. I desire my humble service may bee presented to all the worthy Ladys resident with you for all things wherein I may serve either you or yours you may bee assured of me for a

most faithfull frend & servant

JOHN BRIGHT"

"Chappell le ffrith 2°
of Marcii 1643"[-4]

20.

*Letter from Col. Robert Duckenfield to M^r Jodrell requesting to be supplied with money &c. for the souldiers.* 1644, 20 *Car. I.*

"S^r

I have long forborne to presse you touching ye usuall charge [for] maintaining souldiers w^th^in ye neighborhood of y^r estate be burdened w^th^all ye truth is I may make use of ye liberty allowed to me & to other souldiers but for neighbo'hood sake I shall deale fairer & therefore I desire you to send me twenty pounds upon Monday next for my Souldiers as I shall take it kindly from you otherwyse I will send to you immediately in a more harsher way thereof I desire your speedy resolution for I expect to be called upon every day. I will not be delayed this must be done upon the instant

I rest

yr. friend

"Stoppord [Stockport]
27: May 1644" ROBT. DUCKENFIELD"

[Endorsed] "To M^r Joudrill of Yeardsley this haste"

21.

Between the years 1642 and 1645 Mr. Jodrell paid to the Cheshire Authorities for the Parliament use, according to his own "*True Account*," various sums amounting altogether to £423 2s. 6d.

*Mr. Edmund Jodrell appointed Sheriff of Cheshire, Novr.* 7, 1650.

1650
2 *Car. II.*

The Keepers of the Liberty of England by authority of Parliament to the Dukes Earls Barons Knights free men and all others of the County of Chester

Greeting

Whereas we committed to our well beloved Edmund Jodrell Esquire the Custody of the County aforesaid so long as it should please us as in our Letters Patent to him thereof made is contained We command you that you be attendant upon answerable and aiding him in all things which to that office belongs.

In witness whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made patent Witness ourself at Westminster the seventh day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty

LENTHALL.

[*End of Jodrell documents.*]

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# APPENDIX D.

*Plundering by Parliamentarian Soldiers.* Page 174.

IN April 1645 grievous charges were forwarded to London against Col. Brereton that he allowed his men to rob and spoil both friend and foe without mercy or distinction. Sir William Brereton accordingly despatched the following letter (quoted in Webb's *Memorials of the Civil War*, vol. ii., pp. 174-5) to the House of Commons, dated April 26, 1645 :—

"I assure your Honours that their is noe thing accompanying this service hath more afflicted me then to see these insolencies that are some tymes cõmitted by the Souldrs and not have power wholly to restraine them. I know that the Souldiers plunder is putt into a bottomless bagg: the State looses it: the Souldier accompts it not for pay: and those who are most undeserving are most advantaged thereby. Our reputacõn is extreamly lost

hereby w^th^ ye Comon people, who for the most part judge o^r^ cause by the Demeanour of o^r^ army; wherein formerly I haue bin able to hould forth good order, that when y^e^ enemy wholly comanded o^r^ neighbouring Counties, and great share of this Countie, the people compareing their vsage by y^e^ Souldiers on both sides, wee then gained their harts though the enemy had their houlds. Yet I must confesse some unsufferable Exorbitances have bin committed of late in Wales. I would I could say Chesshire had escaped: but for my owne parte I know noe other way to maintaine order in an Army but either by speciall interest or seveare discipline. ffor the first it cannot be expected I should soe far prevaile w^th^ the fforces assigned from seu'all parts as if they were mine owne. And for the last I haue not had power to hould the Reines of Discipline as otherwise haue bin Convenient, when extreame want of all necessaries haue inflamed the Souldiers discontents to an unmaisterable height, & in such a case I humbly apeale to yo^r^ hono^rs^ Experience there how hard it is to prevent Outrages."

At a council of war at Nantwich the truth of the charge was admitted; and also explained that through want of pay and other necessaries the soldiers had taken too much liberty. Brereton was, however, summoned to London to answer in person before Parliament with the result that a money supply was sent to the army in Cheshire.

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# APPENDIX E.

*The Siege of Chester. Articles of Capitulation. Page* 200.

A PAMPHLET, entitled "Sir William Breretons Letter concerning the Surrender of the City of Chester, &c. Printed for Edw. Husbands, Feb. 6. 1646," (re-printed in Phillips' *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., pp. 292-7.) gives the names of the Commissioners on both sides who arranged the Articles of the Treaty.

The complete list is as follows :—

*Commissioners for the Soldiery, Gentry, and Citty and Clergy.*

| | |
|---|---|
| SIR EDMUND VERNEY | MAJOR [THOMAS] THROPP |
| LT.-COL. [JOHN] ROBINSON | MR. CHRISTOPHER BLEAS |
| LT.-COL. [PETER] GRIFFITH | MR. WILLIAM INCE |
| LT.-COL. [HENRY] LEIGH | MR. JOHN JOHNSON |
| THOS. CHOLMONDELY ESQ. | DOCTOR [EDMUND] MORETON [Divine] |
| JOHN WERDEN, ESQ. | MR. THOMAS BRIDGE. |

*Commissioners for Sir William Brereton.*

| | |
|---|---|
| COL. BOYER [John Bowyer] | COL. [JOHN] CARTER |
| COL. [ROBERT] DUCKENFIELD | COL. CHIDLEY COOTE |
| COL. JOHN BOOTH | LT.-COL. HUNT |
| COLONEL MICHAEL JONES | LT.-COL. VENABLES |
| ADJT.-GENERAL LOUTHIAN | JONATHAN BRUEN ESQ |
| ROGER WILBRAHAM ESQR. | MR. RICHARD BRADSHAWE. |

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# APPENDIX F.

A COMPLETE list of soldiers buried at Nantwich during the years of the Great Civil War, as recorded in the Parish Register :—

1642-3 Jan. 30 Joseph Banbery, a Lieutenant.
" " " Edward Varnam, soldier.
" Feb. 1 Robert Bickerton, soldier.
" Mar. 12 John Raven, Ensine.
" " 16 William ffallowes, soldier
" " " John Maris, do.
" " 17 Robert Liderland, do.
" " 22 William Rowbottom, do.
" " 23 Raphe Eaton, do.
" " " Jervis Hide, do.

1643 April 12 Houmfrey Elsemare, soldier.
„ „ 19 Robert Hay, Leiuetenant.
„ „ „ William Duglas, sergant.
„ „ „ John Wade, soldyer.
„ „ 25 William Thorneley, soldyer.
„ „ 29 William Bradock, do.
„ May 4 William Corke, do.
„ „ 6 Raphe Hunte, do.
„ „ 9 Thomas Hichinson, do.
„ „ 11 Richard Preisener, do.
„ „ „ Henry ffalkener, do.
„ „ 12 Hugh Booth, do.
„ „ „ Thomas Turner, do.
„ „ 13 William Thorneylay, do.
„ „ 19 Robert Jackson, do.
„ „ 21 Renald Booth, do.
„ „ 24 William Wood, do.
„ June 1 William Cotterell, do.
„ „ 3 William Linley, do.
„ „ 19 William Woolfe, do.
„ „ „ Thomas Stringer, do.
„ „ 20 Richard Harrower, Dockter.
„ „ 21 Daniell Powell, trouper.
„ „ 25 Edward Riley, do.
„ „ 26 John Booler, Drumer.
„ July 1 Thomas Prise, trouper.
„ „ 13 Thomas Bamford, soldier.
„ „ 14 Captaine Edward Minshull.
„ „ 18 Edward Steele, soldier.
„ „ 24 John Crockston, do.
„ „ „ Philip Maddock, do.
„ „ 26 Mighill Illage, do.
„ Aug. 5 Edward Ashley, Lieutenant.
„ „ „ Richard Massey, trouper.
„ „ „ Allen Swanick, do.
„ „ 17 Robert Proudloue, soldier.
„ Sep. 6 Captain Richard Clutton.
„ „ 12 Thomas Taylor, soldier.
„ „ 13 William Hunte, surgants mate.

1643 Oct. 8 Richard Burose, Cannaneare.
„ „ 13 Richard Twamlay, soldier.
„ Nov. 6 Thomas Spencer, do.
„ „ 10 Hugh Burose, do.
„ „ 13 Solloman Pallmar, surgant.
„ „ 16 Richard Janney, do.
„ „ 20 Thomas Edge, soldier
„ „ 22 Rodger Radnall, do.
„ „ 23 John Birttles, do.
„ Dec. 12 Richard Cutler, soldier, buried danam [Davenham].
„ „ 19 John Hugen, soldier.
1643-4 Jan. 8 James Bee, do.
„ „ 11 Robert Moore, sergant.
„ „ 14 John Sharman, soldier.
„ „ 19 Richard Barker, do.
„ „ „ Robert Woodcock, do.
„ „ „ Hugh Blackshaw, do.
„ „ „ Richard Hough, do.
„ „ „ John Warberton, do.
„ „ 20 William Newall, do.
„ „ „ Rodger Judgson, do.
„ „ 24 John Wilcockes, do.
„ „ „ Nicolas Hareson, do.
„ „ 26 John Holland, sergant.
„ „ 27 William Eckerson, soldier.
„ „ „ Isack Cheetum, do.
„ „ 28 Thomas Brookes, Leiuetenante.
„ „ 29 Captaine Steele, shott.
„ „ 31 John Burrowes, soldier.
„ „ „ Samuel Greene, do.
„ Feb. 1 Robert Cole, do.
„ „ 3 John Yorke, trowper.
„ „ 6 Richard Holme, soldier.
„ „ „ Captaine Steevenfranke.
„ „ „ John Worthiston, drumer.
„ „ 7 John Hickson, soldier.
„ „ „ Henry Waters, do.
„ „ „ John Morgin, Leiuetenante.

1643-4 Feb. 7 Andrew Wood, soldier.
" " " Roger Dickson, do.
" " 9 George Dreaton, do.
" " " William Bell, do.
" " 11 John Dessell, do.
" " " George Browne, do.
" " 16 John Asslack, sergant.
" " 20 William Hilton, soldier.
" " 21 William Pollit, do.
" Mar. 4 Richard Aghit, do.
" " " John Jenkinson, do.
" " 5 Roger Wattell, gunner.
" " 16 Henery Hearte, Leiuetenante.
" " 20 William Wilkeson, soldier.
1644 April 22 Richard Tenler, do.
" May 3 John Rogers, do.
" " 17 James Grimes, Liuetenant.
" " 18 John Oulton, soldier.
" " 26 Arthur Eavons, do.
" " 31 Robert Walker, do.
" June 4 William Chester, do.
" " 14 Thomas Moyle, do.
" July 6 Arthur Cumberbach, quartermaister.
" " 9 Richard Boand, soldier.
" " " Thomas Brassell, sergant.
" " " Robert Hool, soldier.
" " " William Davenport, soldier.
" " " John ffearnough, do.
" " " Raphe Milton, Sergant.
" " " Raphe Meare, soldier.
" " " Eswell Pinkey, Mager.
" " 19 Richard Peares, soldier.
" " 31 Thomas Nickeson, do.
" Aug. 6 John Lownes, do.
" Sep. 17 William Wright, trouper.
" " 18 Thomas Siddoe, Dragoonar.
" " 19 Thomas son of John Grousvener, soldier.
" " 26 John Brookesbanke, quartermaister.
" " 30 Edward Birtles, soldier.

1644 Nov. 21 Robert Whittecers, soldier.
„ Dec. 8 Thomas Hareson, do.
„ „ 9 William Smyth, do.
„ „ 14 John Gerrat, do.
„ „ 17 Edward Badcock, do.
„ „ 26 William Hoose, do.
1644-5 Jan. 4 Edward Parnett, do.
„ Feb. 20 Thos. Roby, soldier, buried at Allim* [Audlem].
„ „ 25 Robert Jackson, Mager.
„ March 9 Robert Burose, trouper.
„ „ 10 Roger Yewood, soldier.
„ „ 15 James Whiteley, do.
„ „ 18 James Billinge, do.
1645 April 28 ffrancis wife of Captaine Willm. Edwardes, Alderman of Chester.
„ „ 30 Richard sonne of John Reade ; shot at Hardin.
„ May 14 John Olliver, soldier.
„ „ 22 Raphe Hampton, do.
„ June 3 Robert Brandall, do.
„ July 18 Robert Tumblison,do.
„ „ 31 Nickolas sonne of Chidley Coote, Lieutenant Collon[l].
„ Sept. 25 William fflooet, soldier.
„ „ 28 Matthew Ellam, trouper.
„ Octr. 1 Humphrey Burall, sargant.
„ „ 2 Thomas Elson, soldier.
„ „ 4 Richard Goodwen, trouper.
„ „ „ William Clement, do.
„ „ „ Henry ffoster, buried at Warminsham, soldier.
„ „ 5 William Saunders, Lieutenant.
„ „ 12 Richard Whitingham, soldier.
„ „ „ Thomas Barker, trouper.
„ „ 13 John Garton, do.
„ „ 15 William Kenadie, do.
„ „ 19 Robert Samson, do.

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* No register was kept at Audlem from 11 April, 1642, until 13th July, 1646.

1645 Oct. 21 Arthur Bamford, Dragooner.
" " " Henry Starr, trouper.
" " " John Carter, soldier.
" " 22 Tymy Cemadey, trooper.
" " 23 George Smythe, soldier.
" " 24 James Lathoot, do.
" " 26 Francis Brett, trouper.
" " 28 John Jackson, soldier.
" " 30 John Anderton, do.
" " 31 John Jackson, do.
" Nov. 2 James Gibbons, soldier, buried at Acton. [Cf Foot-note p. 48.]
" " 8 Henry Poret, soldier.
" " 9 Edward Stubes, Lieutenant.
" " 15 Roger Woods, trooper.
" " 20 John Cawell, soldier.
" " 22 Captaine Matthew Wright of Crew.
" " " Hugh Bernit, soldier.
" " 26 John Hareson, do.
" Dec. 2 William Pinne, do.
" " 5 John Lester, trouper.
" " 15 Robert Hickson, soldier.
" " 22 Thomas Hancock, sargant.
1645-6 Jan. 6 Richard Wright, Cannaneare.
" " 18 Edward Bostock, Sargant.
" " 27 Edmund Moore, soldier.
" " 29 Richard Wilcockes, sargant.
" Feb. 3 Henry Challener, marshall.
" March 17 John Wood, Dragooner.

Long as this burial roll is,—numbering in all 186 soldiers—the parish register does not record all the soldiers buried at Nantwich.

A few omissions have been noted in the preceding pages of this volume.

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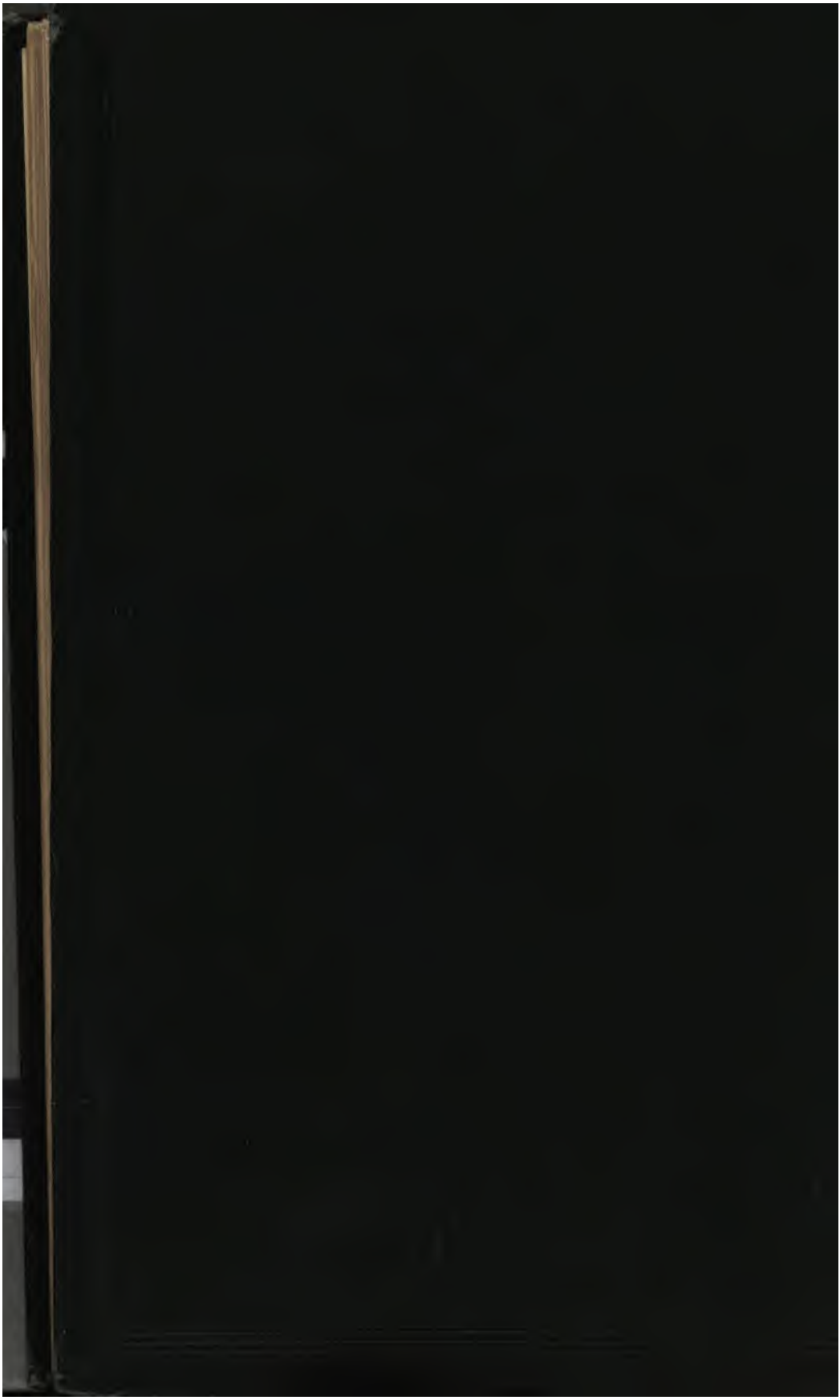
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